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VIEWS AND REVIEWS

I

BE it remembered in Gilbert's classic phrase that

"The House of Lords throughout the war
Did nothing in particular
And did it very well."

So with our state legislatures in both the war and the reconstruction periods. As to the war period they have an alibi, for most of them were not in session during those eighteen months. That they were not generally summoned in special sessions to deal with war problems is a severe reflection on their capacity. Average Americans were thankful that legislatures were not on hand to come blundering into the problems, and proceeded to organize anew on simple common-sense lines in such communal efforts as state councils of defense which with all their shortcomings and hastiness of construction were usually better manned, quicker and more expert than the state governments. If the typical legislature marched in a victory parade to claim its share of public gratitude, the legend on its banner should be "We kept out of the way!"

II

BUT during the last few months, the legislatures have all been in session. They talked much of "reconstruction" and wondered much as to what they should do. The civic leaders were caught unprepared and could not tell them. The federal government had almost no ideas for them.

There were, in many of the states, three visible prospective problems, shortage of employment, shortage of housing and shortage of state and municipal income. Federal researches had disclosed that even big programs of public works could afford relatively little relief to unemployment anyway and failure to launch such programs in the face of taxation difficulties does not merit censure. The housing reformers talked vaguely of state loans on Canadian or English lines but the ideas were too novel. The various solutions of revenue and budget problems were the chief output bearing the impress of reconstruction.

Otherwise it is the usual biennial grist of legislation with the usual sprinkling of progressive items.

III

IN obtaining Mr. Willoughby's authoritative exposition of the Good national budget bill for this issue, we break a precedent of this REVIEW and touch on national matters; but budgets as a feature of our state and municipal finances are sure to

be profoundly and promptly influenced by the federal example and so important an event as the serious advancement of this well-considered measure cannot be excluded from our pages.

Back of the Good bill are the competent studies of the Institute of Government Research, an organization with offices in Washington, which has worked quietly for several years toward this objective. Its further strategy will undoubtedly be to follow up the new budget bureau and help it gradually to untangle the old wild-grape-vine lines of the federal administrative establishment and then by degrees rid it of waste and duplication. Every such step will tend to remove the departments from direct irresponsible congressional committee management and restore the president to the position of real chief executive.

IV

By way of contrast to the orderly processes of finance contemplated by the Good bill, turn to this:

Scene: A high handsome carven chamber in the capitol last summer.

Present: Two members of the appropriations committee of the house—only two—Swager Sherley and Uncle Joe Cannon. Also, on the opposite side of the table, the chief of a bureau with sundry technical subordinates.

The latter have heard that an urgent deficiency bill is in the making and have hastily compiled a mass of data supporting their plea for an appropriation of $100,000,000 to their bureau. Their plea for the hundred million is complicated by no sense of wonderment as to where the money will come from; on the other hand, the two congressmen will never be blamed if the war program breaks down at this point for lack of funds.

The bureau chief notices that the "committee" takes no interest in his written data and he abandons it in favor of jollity over cigars. He and his fellow suppliants laugh long and loud at the congressmen's jokes. It is a reaction of men, not facts. At the end the two congressmen close the interview with polite and indefinite phrases and Joe Cannon slowly swinging his feet down from the table top and rising with his cigar uptilted steeply in his mouth, fingers the edge of a vast tabulated chart which comprises a condensed summary of the data and remarks "As for all this stuff, I know no more about what's in it than I do about what's in my record with the recording angel" (Laughter). Adjournment.

The data goes into the stenographic record of the hearing and will some day emerge in unedited pale type. No one in congress will ever read it. At a later committee meeting, somebody who cannot possibly know anything about it surmises that the demand has undoubtedly been padded, and the $100,000,000 accordingly is cut to $40,000,000 and passed by the house without debate. And thus two congressmen—experienced and able men to be sure, but knowing nothing of the merits of the case—make the decision the far-flung results of which will be attributed to the president,—who, poor man, plays no part in the proceeding!

V

The coupon at the bottom of our second page was there in the May issue and in the two weeks following publication just one reader responded.

We won't grow much at that rate!

VI

We welcome to the staff of the National Municipal Review a new assistant, Mr. Russell Ramsay, formerly of the National Child Welfare Federation.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

The Utah legislature has passed a constitutional amendment giving cities the right to draft and adopt their own charters, operate public utilities and practice excess condemnation.

* * *

New commission-manager towns:
Ranger, Texas, population 6,000;
Lufkin, Texas, population 5,000;
Salinas, California, population 4,000.

* * *

The United States Supreme Court in the case of *Columbus Railway, Power and Light Company, appellant* v. *The City of Columbus, et al.*, has rendered a decision to the effect that a street railway franchise is a binding contract, and that unprofitableness is no excuse for non-execution.

* * *

Nine states adopted the executive budget principle at the recent legislative sessions, bringing the total to twenty-three. Texas and Alabama were added to the seven states having administrative budget boards.

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Pennsylvania has an official commission created to prepare the ground for the projected constitutional convention.

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By virtue of acts of the legislatures, Texas and California will vote in November on the question of holding a Constitutional Convention.

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Campaigns for the city-manager plan are on foot in Alexandria, Lynchburg and Newport News, Va., Saginaw and Muskegon, Mich., and Sallisaw, Okla.

AN AMERICAN CITY MANAGER ON THE RHINE

BY COL. H. M. WAITE
Former City Manager of Dayton, Ohio

I

Soon after the headquarters of the Third Army had moved to Luxembourg the German high command requested that a commission be sent to Coblenz to meet with them and arrange for the occupancy of the bridgehead by our army.

As a result of this request Colonels J. C. Rhea, George R. Spalding, C. O. Sherrill, H. C. Vores, Lt. Hugh Mackay and I were ordered forward to Coblenz on December 4.

The German army had not left Coblenz and for two days we watched them cross the Rhine. It was done in good order and under good discipline. The units were small and transportation very limited. The livestock was in poor condition; many horse-drawn vehicles had Russian ponies. There was a marked shortage of motor trucks—all they had in use had steel tires.

On the night of the 4th we met representatives from the German staff at the Coblenzerhof, which was being used by the Germans as a headquarters. We were, however, given very comfortable rooms. The food was miserable. We all noticed the fact that we were as hungry an hour after a meal as we were before having it. The coffee was undrinkable, brown, hot and worse than tasteless. They told us it was made from beets. We doubted it—why spoil the beets? The German army coffee was better; it was made from roasted rye.

II

On the morning of December 5, we met with the Oberburgomeister of Coblenz. He was intelligent, forceful and had the local situation well in hand. He spoke openly of the revolution. He was much concerned over what would happen after the German troops left Coblenz and before our troops arrived. This point was later taken up by the officers of the German staff, resulting in their requesting us to have a thousand men sent up ahead of our army to act as guards until the 11th, which was the date set by the armistice for our army to enter Coblenz.

On Sunday morning, December 8, we went to the railroad yards to see the first troops arrive—the requested one thousand men.

We were a bit nervous; we wanted to make a lasting impression; we knew they would.

There was quite a large delegation with us, including the German bridgehead commission and many other officers who had put on civilian clothes. The largest gallery, however, was peering out from the windows.

We realized the ordeal our men had been going through ever since the armistice; how they had been marching practically every day through rain and mud.

When the train pulled into the yard and stopped, not a man appeared. The commanding officer and some correspondents got off. The command-

ing officer reported immediately and was told the barracks for his men were all ready for them. The men then detrained in the best order I had ever seen any troops do it—every man in perfect military appearance, shoes clean, not a sign of any mud, and packs all neatly rolled! Their very appearance made us realize that they had not had much sleep on that night.

Then they swung down the street towards the barracks—never had our boys looked so good. There was no music, no flourish—they spelled BUSINESS in every step—in true American doughboy unconcern and independence.

I am proud to say, tears came to my eyes and my throat filled as they marched by. The very exemplification of a democratic army! An efficient army not born in militarism!

The real lesson to the German people was there—but did they see it? As I noticed their faces I felt some did.

III

One of the principal topics raised by the Germans, particularly by the Öberburgomeister of Coblenz and the Öber-prasident of the Rhenish Province, was food. They stated that cows were being killed as so much feed had been commandeered by the German army on its retreat. They were short of potatoes as many had to come from east side of the Rhine. The same was true of flour and grain. They were also concerned over the coal distribution.

There was a natural concern outside of any shortage of these commodities.

The distribution of all supplies had been ably handled during the war through governmental agencies, now broken down.

There were internal troubles beyond the occupied territory in all Germany. The governmental fabric had broken down.

In addition to all this, the terms of the armistice on transportation were very severe. At that time food, merchandise, manufactured products, or raw materials were not allowed to cross the Rhine either from or into the occupied territories. Every day light engines and cars were being turned over to the Allies by the German government in accordance with the armistice. The entire transportation systems of Germany, Luxembourg and Alsace-Lorraine were under an allied transportation commission composed of members from the English, French, Belgian and American armies. No trains could be run or passengers or freight moved without the authority of this commission which reported to Marshal Foch. Trains at this time were not allowed to run far up or down the Rhine between the territories occupied by the several Allies. Coal was moving in large quantities up the Rhine by barge but most of it was bound for Switzerland. It was only natural that the German municipal officials should feel some anxiety.

IV

We called upon them to furnish detailed statements, showing the supply of food and coal on hand in the occupied territory and what would be required. Our army, as it moved in, was called upon to furnish similar information.

The reports were interesting. Every town had some coal on hand. Greases were very scarce. Their soap was made from clay, colored, scented and an alkali to cut the dirt. Our mess sergeant traded two cakes of our soap for two chickens.

One morning while I was getting my hair trimmed in a German barber shop in Coblenz, a young German came in for a shave. I could watch him in my mirror. The barber rubbed something

on his face that sounded like sandpaper. He was a Heidelburg man and never winced. He knew I was watching him.

When our army was placed we got reports on all the utilities.

Gradually the transportation limitations were reduced. All food stuff was allowed to come in from the east side of the Rhine as well as raw materials needed in the factories of the occupied territories. The restrictions, however, on anything from the occupied territory into the balance of Germany, were very strict. These movements could only be made by authority in each case from the railroad commission.

In the meantime, however, the restrictions caused us some trouble. In the investigation of the conditions at Coblenz, we found that some of the pumps in the water works were Diesel engines using an oil they obtained from near Frankfurt. The troubles we had trying to get that oil were tremendous. Some of the other pumps were on gas engines. Part of the city's supply of gas came from a plant at Neuwied, below Coblenz, and a part from the city's gas works. All were short of coal. Triers was also short of coal. We called on the French for coal from the Saar Valley for Triers and were told the Germans must supply it from German mines. The Germans told us the Saar Valley had always furnished all coal necessary for points in the vicinity of Triers. We finally told the governmental authorities at Coblenz that if necessary we would commandeer coal coming up the Rhine to protect the utilities. They seemed pleased, and we saw that they had figured this would take coal going to the territory occupied by the French south of us. We then informed them that the coal we commandeered would be coal consigned to German factories and plants.

V

We only transacted business with the governmental authorities we found in control, which were the old officialdom.

One of my first questions to the Öberburgomeister at Coblenz was concerning the police—how many there were in the city—how many were required—and who had the authority over them. I was much surprised to hear him reply that they were now all under him. I replied that I had presumed that they were all under the usual commission which was controlled from Berlin. His reply was a still greater surprise. He frankly stated that during the war the police were under the military, but during the revolution this authority broke down, and they had been put under him. While they often alluded to the revolution, they were usually very careful never to criticise anyone or anything.

At Triers the city owned the water works, street railway and electric light plant. The latter sold power to the two former. They had steam and hydro-electric plants. The hydro-plant was a very complete new installation and the supply of water was sufficient to supply all demands for from four to six months depending on the rainy season. The balance of the year they depended on the steam plants.

We asked how they made ends meet with war prices on coal? They replied simply that they raised the rates for electricity 50 per cent. When asked if such an arbitrary procedure did not arouse serious complaint from the citizens, the answer was "Oh, no—they know it is a good investment for the city and pays well."

The ease with which the municipal authorities issued effective orders was always a surprise. The order was

issued, posted, people read it and then obeyed.(!!!)

Soon after our arrival in Coblenz, for example, the Öberburgomeister submitted to us an order he desired to put into effect as soon as German troops left. It closed all cafes at 9, kept all children under 12 off the streets after 6 and no group of over three persons could congregate after dark, and a few other things. By the terms of the armistice, we had no authority until our troops occupied Coblenz, and we so informed the burgomeister. It seemed that all he wanted to know was if we objected to the order. When we said "No," it was posted, read and obeyed.

The only thing that happened was the night before the order became effective when a large gathering sang German songs in front of our hotel until two or three in the morning. The "Wacht Am Rhine" was heard several times. I enjoyed it as they sang very well.

VI

We talked to a great many Germans about the future government. They seemed to be bewildered; no one had any intelligent idea as to what would be the outcome. No one thought there was any chance of any of the royal family being elected to the presidency. One man told me Prince Idelfritz was very popular. When asked why, he answered, "He was always with his troops as a colonel; he was with them in the trenches and led them"—I innocently stated "the Crown Prince did not." I saw a glitter in his eye as he grunted, "No." He also stated that Prince Max of Baden was very popular. I asked, "Enough so to overcome the socialist vote?" He answered, "Prince Max is very democratic." I then remarked, "Why is the royal family so unpopular—if Germany had won the Kaiser would have been a wonderful man in Germany!" His reply was a surprise, "Oh yes—but where was the end, power and more power?" and with a sly look at me, "Even you in America might have been under him."

It was interesting to try to get them to talk in terms of democratic government. One day, in conversation with a very intelligent German, a Ph.D. and a member of the soldiers' and workmen's council, I asked, "What is your theory of the necessity of a soldiers' and workmen's council?" He replied, "To protect the people from the government." "But," I said, "when you elect your own councils and assemblies it is then the people's government." "Oh!" he remarked, "you do not understand; the bureaucracy is very efficient—we cannot replace it now; we must use it, but it is all of the old régime." "True," I remarked, "but when you elect your own councils, your bureaucracy will be controlled by your own representatives and not by Berlin." It was useless, we would go round and round in a circle and come back to the same place and thought. He could not think in terms of democracy. It made me feel keenly that the German mind is a single track mind as illustrated by the story of a drummer for a flour mill asking a German where the spaghetti factory was. The German answered, "Spaghetti factory? I do not know." Soon the drummer heard someone running after him; it was the same German who breathlessly asked, "You mean the noodle factory?" "Yes," said the relieved drummer. "Well," said the German, "I don't know where that is either."

VII

Everyone feels that the German government is very complicated. However, after studying it and liv-

ing with it, and realizing that it is all built on the theory of one central control, and that control in Berlin, it becomes more comprehensible. It is complicated, however, and I believe purposely so, in that there is a constant supervision and control of minor authorities by those above. This makes ultimate responsibility or authority at times difficult to fix.

Then there is that peculiar governmental distinction between affairs of general and of local interest. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish these interests in your own mind. This doubt, however, never seemed to interfere with the policy of the central government; for example, police matters were always considered by the old government as an affair of general interest. In affairs of general interest supervision and control are most strict, and that ultimate authority and responsibility are most difficult to fix.

In a small village the burgomeister may have police powers; his work, however, is supervised and controlled through various grades of officials until the central government itself is ultimately reached. Affairs of general interest are often placed in the hands of special officers; here again they are controlled by the central government. These special officers are professionals, or men who undergo special training to fit themselves for these special duties. Knowing German training it is easy to see how they are tied to the central government and its policies.

Affairs of local interest are usually those pertaining to local taxes, maintenance of charitable institutions, construction of local roads and carrying out agricultural improvements.

Even in affairs of local interest the control of the central government is apparent.

Take the government of a Province. It is divided into two distinct sets of officials, one for the affairs of general interest and one for the affairs of local interest. The general administration is managed by an Öberprasident, assisted by a provincial council or provinzialrat. The Öberprasident is a purely professional official, appointed by the central government at Berlin, a direct representative of the ministry. The provinzialrat consists of the Öberprasident as chairman, a second professional official appointed by the Prussian Minister of the Interior and five lay members elected by the Provinzial ausschuss or provincial committee. This latter committee has purely executive functions. It puts into force measures passed by the Provincial Assembly and its members, seven to fourteen, are elected by the Provincial Assembly called the Provinzial-landtag. The Provincial Assembly, in turn, is composed of lay members elected by the Assemblies of the Kreis, called the Kreistags. This elective body has three principal functions in the Kreis or circle: First, it makes regulations covering the administration of local affairs in the Kreis. Second, it votes the circle or Kreis budget and provides for the levy of local taxes. It is forbidden, however, to raise a sum exceeding 50 per cent of the state tax or to contract any loans without higher authority. Third, it chooses the elective officials for the circle, district or province.

It is interesting to note, however, in addition to the limitation of the powers of the Kreistag, that its members were elected under a system that placed most of the power in the hands of the rich—well to do classes.

It is plain to see that this old system had the doors locked at both ends!

VIII

After this experience with the German government, it is amusing to hear people say that our city manager form

of government is like the German municipal governments. In Germany the people have had nothing to say about their government. It has been absolutely controlled from Berlin. Our city manager form uses the theory of trained men for particular functions of government, but they are always under the control of the popular representatives. The Öberburgomeister form is autocratic. The city manager form is democratic.

THE HEIRS OF THE COUNCILS OF DEFENSE

BY WILLITS POLLOCK
Milwaukee County Council of Defense

The War Emergency Bodies are fast being demobilized, their programs abandoned, their trained and volunteer workers going back to other pursuits. Who will take up their burden? :: :: ::

It is a fundamental law of our much maligned "capitalistic" system of economy that when a man passes on to the "happy hunting grounds" wherein the dollar and what it typifies are absent, that there must be heirs of some sort or other upon whom what is valuable of these earthly possessions devolve. So it is with institutions.

A remarkably interesting group of organizations have just completed or are about to complete their earthly missions and are passing on into that state of innocuous desuetude known colloquially as demobilization. It had to come, this demobilization of the councils of defense, war boards, war chests, and defense leagues for they were typically war emergency bodies, but far beyond the immediate service which they have rendered they have left a heritage in the shape of programs and new ideals of service which augur well for the future. The emergency war organizations,—national, state, and local —have performed two great services:

First, they have marked out a vast twilight zone of action wherein associations and the government can cooperate for the purpose of civic and industrial advancement.

Second, they have demonstrated that there is in the vast majority of Americans a real desire not only to secure good government but to participate personally in the act of governing.

INCENTIVE TO ORGANIZE UNIVERSAL

It has been the writer's privilege to visit and become familiar with the war organizations or councils of defense in some fifteen of the largest communities in America. Their success and the type of men which they drew to them is universally a sincere tribute to the genius of the American people for self organization. The councils of defense, both community and the state, have followed widely varying plans of organization. In some cases public safety committees with drastic powers and practically unlimited financial resources have been created. In many instances county or community councils were mere voluntary associations. In others, they were appointed by the mayor, and in certain instances, such as obtained in Wisconsin, they are direct legal creations of the state legislature, acting under the supervision of the state council.

THE DEFENSE COUNCILS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES

An interesting explanation of the defense council system and the way it developed was given recently by Mr. R. N. McMynn, chairman of the war finance speaker's bureau for Milwaukee county. He stated that originally, as all of us understood it, the council of national defense, the state councils, and the county councils were each to become the actual war boards for their districts,—that is, the national council, composing as it did members of the cabinet and the representatives of the principal business and professional interests of the country, would unquestionably in its membership have the carrying out of all important war policies and would logically use the state and local war boards with appropriate special representatives to handle these policies locally. In some way or other, however, whether through inability of the council of national defense to command the respect of its members and to provide a uniform scheme throughout the country, this plan did not materialize. The Liberty Loan organization was created in every district practically separate from the councils of defense; the war savings organization was handled in a like manner. Commercial economy movements were handled through separate bodies. The food administration alone was content to attempt a unification between the councils of defense and its own local representatives. The program and organization of the councils of defense, after these successive amputations, might be said to have resembled easily a large cheese from which innumerable holes had been gouged out. With all of these changes, however, there remained with the defense councils an extremely vital function which many of them realized and lived up to, namely, that of uniting and harmonizing the various interests and organizations both permanent and those created for the duration of the war in the task of preventing duplications and seeing that the best energies of the particular district were directed toward the common task.

ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

The vital problems confronting each community were three:

1. To take care in all possible ways of the civilian population and those remaining at home.
2. To operate the productive machinery at as close to 100 per cent efficiency, so far as the war was concerned, as possible.
3. To furnish to the government all possible quotas of men, money and materials.

The formula is simple but it indicated that each community must take a healthy concern in conditions in its industries, wastes in its commercial establishments, feeding its people, caring for the health problem, and in general making of itself a better community.

WAR FINANCE

The war finance problem in practically every community resolved itself into three elements:

1. Liberty loans.
2. War savings.
3. War and charitable donations.

The first two of these represent the investment feature. The third, charity. The war savings plan will, of course, be continued into the future as an educational proposition, particularly among younger citizens. Already a number of cities are discussing the carrying on of some form of the Liberty Loan organization to place conservative securities in the hands of

the small buyer and industrial worker as a thrift and savings movement. In some cities the plan is to have their municipal bonds issued in small denominations and sold as a civic enterprise. In other cases, conservative public utility and farm loan bonds have been considered.

It is, however, the donation side of these war finance activities which presents one of the most interesting fields for the future. One of the really great developments of the war was the so-called war chest or community fund. A dozen cities claim the credit for first initiating the plan, but to an impartial observer, it looks like a clear case of the American temperament and ability for self organization recognizing a condition and simultaneously throughout the country suggesting the same solution. The ideal of a great community fund, wherein all agencies and all individuals may be called upon to join, is a development which cannot help but have its profound effect upon our future civic development. Early in the war, Detroit had taken into its patriotic fund practically all of its local charities and institutions. Other cities have followed suit and the idea of a central financing and central audit of civic and charitable propositions seems firmly established.

Milwaukee has had, since the early days of the war, a war finance organization which handles all drives, Liberty Loan, War Savings, Red Cross, County War Fund, and the like. Every member of this body of some 3,000 men and women has pledged himself to continue the work for civic purposes after the war, and to maintain their organization intact.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

It has been a comparatively rare thing for the various councils of defense to form departments of manufactures or industry. In general, these activities were handled locally by the various chambers of commerce, most of which have had industrial or manufacturers' committees with their permanent bureaus and staffs. In Milwaukee, however, this was one of the activities of the council of defense and a strong committee representing each line of industry with a staff and branch office at Washington was inaugurated early in the war. This organization was taken over and became the War Industries Board, Regional Committee No. 17.

The main functions of these war industries boards and manufacturers' committees have consisted in furnishing information as to possible government contracts, securing priority ratings, and, in general, keeping a close tab of the industries in the district to see what possibilities and capacities they possessed to aid the government in its prosecution of the war. At the present, however, the shoe seems to be on the other foot and many of these organizations or their successors exist to aid the industries in making necessary combinations for foreign trade, solving labor difficulties and furnishing information as to new possibilities. The Pittsburgh war industries board, for instance, intends to remain intact. The reorganized Wisconsin manufacturers' association has taken over the Milwaukee board's material. The Cleveland chamber of commerce has always had a strong industrial division. Throughout the country the same process is going on. The war contribution to industry will be permanent.

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

So far as commercial business is concerned, just one slogan made any headway throughout the war: "Curtail

and give service if you can, but at any rate, curtail." It sounded much worse to the retailer and the jobber than it really was. Delivery costs in Milwaukee's large department stores have been cut 50 per cent by the reduction of four or five to one delivery per day, and no real service has been sacrificed. Naturally, retailers are hoping to hold to this plan and to look for new economies rather than to go back to the old plan of competition in useless service. Emergency transportation, provided through motor trucks and through the utilization of the electric lines, saved money, equipment, and time. Neither the shippers nor the carriers desire to drop this useful development. With adequate community backing this movement will go on.

PUBLIC WELFARE ACTIVITIES

Although Mr. Hoover and meatless days belong to the dull, dreary past, their souls go marching on. The expounder of domestic science is reluctant to step down from the proud pedestal she has so recently occupied and many of the cities are developing permanent programs for improved household management and propose to permanently cheat both the family garbage pail and the municipal incinerator.

Mr. Garfield's fuelless Mondays and restrictions on the use of hard coal have had a permanent effect. Many a householder is going to stick to soft coal in preference to the anthracite of which its soulless government deprived him during the war. It is going to be hard to convince the janitor and the private householder that he ought to keep up the fuel economy rules, but it will have some effect at least.

In public health and private health, strides have been made and programs started which will continue over the future. Under-hospitalized cities have been able to forcibly call to the attention of the city fathers and capitalists the real short-comings under which they were laboring. An immense number of people have been trained for nursing and public health work. Through the Red Cross there has developed in every community a strong organization whose energies can be applied to social service and health. The entire public welfare program seems to have been vitalized and strengthened anew through the demonstration of its necessity afforded by war times.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND MORALE

A real contribution from the war boards to the community has been the work in uniting public opinion and the people of the various communities. Towns, cities, and villages have developed their war organizations comprising all classes. In the larger cities, ward and precinct committees and councils of men and women both have served to afford Americans an opportunity to really know their community and their fellow men. The Selective Service was a tremendously democratizing influence.

The Americanization program is another war development and apparently is here with us to stay. The participation of the schools and the educational institutions in war work and in the more vital relation to the rest of the community is another noteworthy addition. The volunteer public safety organizations consisting of special civilian deputies, Home Guards, the American Protective League, and others, has been an excellent indication of the desire of Americans to participate in helping win their own war.

WHAT NEXT?

Like all correct stories, this one is supposed to have a moral. The writer has attempted to sketch in a broad way the vast impetus given to co-operative effort, joint action between the governments and their citizens and the participation in governmental affairs of the citizens generally. There seems to be just one thing needed and that is some sort of a representative, non-political body comprised of the best human material in each community to act as a clearing house for ideas, a stimulating center, and community council to be interested not only in civic matters but to see that the commercial organizations are functioning properly, to back the really big movements which concern vitally the welfare of the community, to link together the local government and the various organizations,—in other words, to bring together in its membership for the welfare of the community the various organized interests, whether they be manufacturers, retailers, union laborers, bankers, social service workers, or what not. It is some organization of this kind that must become the logical heir to the programs and workers of the war boards. Many of the individual activities carried on directly by the councils of defense and by bodies which were created from them will of course go on, but the need of a real community center is vital. Whether this can be furnished by a really progressive chamber of commerce organization, or by a civic federation of all the principal associations in the community, is immaterial; but the community center, planning department and clearing-house is clearly the need which our war experience has indicated.

NASSAU COUNTY PLANS A NEW GOVERNMENT

BY JOHN FLEISCHER

Secretary, Nassau County Association, Mineola, New York

To modernize a county government involves in almost every state the dexterous avoidance of constitutional obstacles, but Nassau county on Long Island, New York, nevertheless, presents a finished plan that provides a chief executive, a shortened ballot and sound financial organization. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE laws under which counties operate in the state of New York were enacted more than a century ago and they have been amended by the legislatures and interpreted by the courts almost every year until they form now a mass of contradictory and conflicting statutes. The uniform rural conditions that originally existed throughout the counties of New York State have long since passed and have been succeeded in many counties by complicated and diverse conditions. This is particularly true in Nassau county where responsibility is divided and duties overlap. It was because of this inefficient and expensive government that an insistent demand was made by the people of Nassau county for a change in the government.

There will, therefore, be introduced in the next session of the legislature a plan of county government recommended by the commission on the government of Nassau county, consisting of seven prominent residents appointed by the board of supervisors under the authority of an act of the legislature of 1914. This plan is important as it is a pioneer movement in the reform of county government, particularly in the eastern section of the United States. County government is comparatively an unexplored field and the plan blazes the way.

THE PRESENT "SYSTEM"

Nassau county has an area of approximately 300 square miles with a population at the last census of 118,000. In addition to the county government, of which the executive officers are the supervisors consisting of two members from the town of Hempstead, one from North Hempstead, one from Oyster Bay and one from Glen Cove city, there are within this small area three town governments, seventeen incorporated village governments, and one city government. The system had its origin at a time when the towns and counties in New York state not included within cities were sparsely settled and when communities were distant from and had very little in common with each other.

With the growth of Nassau county there have developed all these separate political entities, independent governmentally of each other, with various executive administrative officers. The county has so increased in population and the facilities of transportation have so steadily advanced that the county has now grown into a compact

community while the governmental instrumentalities have remained unchanged. What is important, furthermore, under the system of government in towns and counties now existing—there has been a lack of responsibility in any one official or set of officials, and a duplication or confusion of governmental powers and responsibilities has resulted.

Since the organization of Nassau county, about two decades ago, the expenses of government have increased to a wonderful degree. It is true that Nassau county has increased enormously in population because of increased transit facilities and because of its proximity to the great city of New York, but, notwithstanding this, the expenses of government have increased entirely out of proportion with the normal growth.

CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTIES

The commission, after it began its investigations, became satisfied that, in order to avoid the duplication of the functions and to co-ordinate the departments and to place responsibility, there must be a centralized government under a responsible executive. The commission was satisfied that the executive and administrative functions were confused, and it decided that it was important to have the county government with a competent head as an executive and to provide for the legislative duties otherwise.

After a careful consideration of the situation and an examination of the general and special laws applicable to Nassau county, it was found that there were constitutional restrictions which made it impossible to provide a plan which would give the county a genuine centralized government.

The Nassau county commission decided that the first step towards securing a competent centralized government was to have removed the constitutional prohibitions and it convinced the delegates to the state constitutional convention of the necessity of having an amendment which would allow each county in the state to enact laws applicable to its own peculiar condition. By this means Nassau county would have been able to secure the enactment of such laws as would have given it a centralized government irrespective of the other counties of the state. This amendment was submitted to the people of the state and was unfortunately defeated with the other proposals submitted.

Imbued with the conviction that centralization was the most efficacious means of securing good government in Nassau county, the commission sought to abolish the town lines by combining the towns into one and making it coterminous with the county. This was on the theory that as towns were frequently divided, the converse might hold and they could be consolidated. This would obviously have resulted in the devolution of many town offices and would have resulted in a great saving to the taxpayers. There was some doubt as to the constitutionality of this procedure and eminent counsel was consulted, who decided that the consolidation was not permissible under the constitution of the state of New York.

After being confronted with this objection, the commission, not discouraged in its efforts, sought to create a city embracing the whole county, with a carefully, well-defined charter. This plan was, after mature thought, abandoned for two reasons: the first was based on sentimental reasons. Nassau county is essentially a suburban and rural community. Its organization as a city would make an anomalous and incongruous situation.

The second was based on more material reasons. The three towns of Hempstead, Oyster Bay and North Hempstead receive substantial contributions each year from the state of New York in the form of state aid for town roads. If a city were created, the towns necessarily would cease to exist as such and this large sum would be lost, as the state does not give money to cities for roads.

After the consolidated town plan and city plan were abandoned the commission decided to recommend such changes as were possible under the constitution. It was the unanimous opinion that there should be no "tinkering" with the government, but that all the sweeping changes should be made that were possible.

THE NEW PLAN

The commission has succeeded, notwithstanding the constitutional prohibitions, in effecting real governmental reform in Nassau county. It has succeeded in consolidating a number of offices. It has provided for the organization of the county and town governments under presiding officers, with definite executive functions, and it has adequately provided for the legislative functions of the county and town governments. It has taken the county roads from the realm of politics and has divorced the contracting power and the auditing power. It has provided for competitive bidding, with awards made to the lowest bidders for work done and supplies furnished, and it has applied this to advertising and printing. If the commission has done this, and this only, it has conferred a great boon on the people of the county because it has made possible a free and independent press.

The plan does not change the system of town and county government established by the constitution. Such a change would be unconstitutional. Towns and counties are two of the earliest forms of local government. The study of existing conditions made by the commission has convinced it that the governmental problem confronting the county must be viewed from the broader standpoint of the county as a single municipality. In considering the government of the county, the commission is concerned with municipal government. Many governmental functions analogous to those exercised by a municipality may be bestowed upon a county government under the constitution.

A study of municipal legislation of the state of New York, especially the charters of cities, disclosed that there has been developed certain well-defined means and methods to secure efficient and economic administration of municipal government which are adaptable to town and county governments and are within the constitutional limitations.

Political thought and experience have established no principle of municipal government more firmly than that the efficient and economical administration of such government requires a single-headed chief executive with adequate power of supervision and control over its finances and over the officers in charge of the various departments of the government. Such chief executive should draw his powers from the entire electorate of the municipality and thereby be made responsible to such electorate as a whole for the due administration of all the departments of the government.

The county under the present law has no such chief executive. The executive powers of the chairman of the board of supervisors are rudimentary and negligible. He is not elected by the county at large. The failure of the

present law to provide a chief executive for the county is one of its defects.

THE "SUPERVISOR-AT-LARGE"

To remedy this, it is proposed to provide a chief executive of the county in the office of supervisor-at-large.

The important executive powers, which are conferred upon the supervisor-at-large, require that he should be elected by the county at large, should have a comparatively long term of office and an adequate salary. He is to be elected by the qualified electors of the county, his term of office is four years, and his salary is $7,500 per year. He may be removed by the governor in the same manner as a sheriff.

The supervisor-at-large is the presiding officer of the board of supervisors, and he has one vote therein. He, therefore, may be regarded in this respect as the successor of the chairman of the board of supervisors. Broad executive powers and duties are, however, also given to the supervisor-at-large, which, under the present law, the chairman of the board of supervisors does not have. Although his executive powers are not so extensive as those generally conferred upon the mayor of a city, they are, nevertheless, substantial and sufficient to enable him to be an efficient chief executive.

He has a limited power of veto of the resolutions and actions of the board of supervisors; he proposes the annual budget and thereby determines, in the first instance, the amount of the annual tax levy; recommendation by him is a prerequisite to borrowing of money or issuing of bonds by the county; he has the absolute power of appointment and removal of all appointive county officers. This power, however, extends only to the heads of departments and not to their subordinates. The subordinates are appointed and removed in accordance with the civil service law. He has the power of visitation and examination of all county offices, including elective officers; all supplies and work for any county office are to be purchased and provided for only by the supervisor-at-large; where contracts are publicly let, he may reject all bids, but a contract, when awarded, must be so awarded to the lowest bidder.

Members of the board of supervisors, with the exception of the supervisor-at-large, will continue to be elected respectively from each town or city.

The principal modification of the powers and duties of the board of supervisors which is proposed effects the subjection of the actions of the board of supervisors to the veto of the supervisor-at-large, in placing the budget-making power in the hands of both the supervisor-at-large and the board of supervisors, the transfer of the board's auditing powers to the comptroller, and the transfer of the board's jurisdiction over the county roads to the commissioner of highways and public works.

THE SHORT BALLOT

A change in the method of selecting the officers of the county has been made by the adoption of what is known as the short ballot, whereby in addition to the constitutional officers of county judge, surrogate, district attorney, county clerk and sheriff, only two county officers are elected, namely, the supervisor-at-large and the county comptroller. The supervisor-at-large appoints the county treasurer, commissioner of highways and public works, commissioner of public charity, clerk of the board of supervisors, county attorney, county health officer and the police commissioner.

Under a system whereby the entire administration and executive control of the affairs of the county are vested in a board of supervisors, the members of which are elected in the towns, it naturally follows that the supervisors are jealous of, and are guided by considerations which enure to the interest of their respective towns. Instances of this can be found in the administration of county roads and the distribution of county road moneys. In the plan which the commission is proposing, it has endeavored so far as is possible to vest the administrative and executive functions in a single officer elected by, and therefore responsible to, the county at large, with the power of appointment of all officials of the county with the exception of constitutional officers.

Under the present system the board of supervisors of the county not only makes contracts but acts in a quasi-judicial capacity in auditing the bills resulting from the contracts made by it. The new plan provides that the power to contract should be entirely separated from the power to audit.

Under the present system each member of the board of supervisors is a committee of one having entire charge of the construction, maintenance and repair of county roads in his respective town, and there is not only lack of uniformity, efficiency, and co-ordination but also a lack of economical administration. The supervisor-at-large, under the new plan, appoints a commissioner of highways with exclusive control of county roads which are taken from the control of the board of supervisors and removed from the realm of politics.

FINANCIAL UNIFICATION

There is at present no requirement that contracts for the expenditure of substantial sums, particularly in the construction and improvement of roads, be let by public bid. Where such contracts are now let by public bid there is no uniformity in the terms of the contracts nor is the form of the contract adopted prior to the invitations for bids. This is remedied by requiring public competitive bidding with a uniformity of terms.

The proposed form of government provides for a detailed and itemized county budget that must be prepared and the amounts contained therein may be expended only for the purposes for which they are appropriated. Under the law now in force the extent to which a budget is itemized or detailed is entirely within the discretion of the county officials and moneys may be transferred and re-transferred from one fund to another at will with the result that the budget practically imposes no limit of the amount of money which is raised by taxation for any given purpose.

Advertising, especially of tax sales, is inserted in the official newspapers of the county at a stipulated rate. Not only is this rate much higher than the rate which would obtain in competitive bidding, but also the amount of advertising now required by law is entirely too voluminous. Competitive bidding is recommended in the new system and the amount of advertising is limited.

THREE CONSOLIDATIONS

There are now seven poor officials in Nassau county; two overseers in each town and one county superintendent. The overseers are in no way responsible to the county superintendent of the poor. The only distinction between county and town poor is the length of residence of the beneficiaries.

Those who reside less than six months in the town are deemed county poor. The plan provides for the consolidation of all these departments under one department of charities under the superintendence of a commissioner of charities appointed by the supervisor-at-large.

In Nassau county there are twenty-one departments of health as the villages, city and towns each have a health department. The county is becoming so densely settled that the health and sanitary conditions in a single village or town vitally affect the health of the surrounding towns and community and the new plan provides that all these departments of health should be consolidated under one county health officer appointed by the supervisor-at-large.

What is true of the health is also true of the police. The villages with their police departments and the towns with their constables are a complex system under which no adequate police protection is afforded to the residents of the county. It is proposed to consolidate all these departments into one general police department of the county under a commissioner of police appointed also by the supervisor-at-large.

SIMPLER TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

The government of towns is patterned after the government of the county and the new plan provides for a short ballot in towns whereby the only officers elected are the supervisors, justices of the peace and town auditor and three trustees, known as town trustees. All the other officers, including town clerk, assessors, receiver of taxes, superintendent of highways, and constables are appointed.

Final power of audit is given to the town auditor in the same manner as the county comptroller has the final power of audit.

The board of trustees is given the powers and duties of the town treasurer, the care of cemeteries and common land and fisheries, the leasing of common land and fisheries for a term not exceeding ten years, and the execution of conveyance of town land when authorized by the inhabitants of the town, and the exercise of all powers and duties of town trustees in towns which now have town trustees.

A budget system, similar to the county budget, is recommended and the letting and making of contracts for work and supplies is provided in the same manner as in the case of the county.

CANADA'S DRIVE FOR BETTER HOUSING

BY THOMAS ADAMS

Housing and Town Planning Adviser to the Canadian Government

While numerous American states and cities have been rather helplessly and tardily appointing commissions to investigate the shortage of housing and cessation of building, Canada was in action within a few days of the armistice. This material was presented also at the National Conference on Social Work at Atlantic City in June.

In Canada we did not attempt to carry out any government housing during the war. That was our misfortune in one respect since it prevented us using the energy and restlessness that comes during periods of war, as a means of creating some bold experiment in model housing.

On the other hand it is our good fortune that our present position is not prejudiced by the carrying out of any extravagant and hurried scheme during the war; by extravagant, of course, I mean the necessary extravagance created by war conditions.

HOUSING AS A PROBLEM OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

Since the war ceased we have started, in Canada, to deal with housing as a national affair and as a problem of reconstruction. In that sense I believe the United States is still without any definite policy. In my opinion the Canadian policy in this matter is based on the soundest principles that can be applied under a federal constitution in a democratic country. Of course it is not in any sense final. It is a beginning and I am certain that, if we apply proper administration, it will be a beginning of very great things.

In the inauguration of an entirely new policy, involving almost revolutionary changes in sentiment and practice, it is better to begin cautiously and with moderate expectations, only making sure that the principles are sound and that whatever is done is a contribution towards the complete administrative whole it is sought to attain. It is desirable also to use public enterprise as a stimulus and aid to good private enterprise and not as an alternative to anything but bad private enterprise.

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL HOUSING PROJECT

The armistice was signed on November 11. Immediately afterwards representatives of the federal and provincial governments of Canada met and, among other subjects, discussed the desirability of creating better housing conditions. It was observed that there had been a practical cessation of building operations during the war and a scarcity of housing accommodation. The privy council only reported on the matter on December 2, and on the following day, December 3, an order-in-council was issued granting a loan of $25,000,000. On December 12, a committee of five members of the cabinet was appointed

to administer the loan. Prior to the taking of this action by the dominion government, the provincial government of Ontario had decided to appropriate $2,000,000 for housing in Ontario as an addition to any federal loan that might be given.

The federal loan of $25,000,000 will be distributed among the nine provinces of Canada, *pro rata* to the population. It is hoped that each province will add a contribution of its own so as to make the available total much larger. The money will be lent at 5 per cent to the provinces and will be repayable by them, in most cases, in six monthly equal installments of principal and interest.

I will now deal briefly with the administration of the loan under two heads:

First, the administrative machinery, and

Second, the conditions and principles under which state-aided housing schemes will be carried out.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

The federal government, the provincial governments and the municipalities are all involved in the machinery that has to be set up to carry out housing schemes.

Under the constitution of Canada the duty of providing houses and controlling land development is a provincial and municipal, and not a federal matter. Many have urged that the federal government should itself carry out housing schemes, but this would interfere with the autonomy of both the provinces and the municipalities. For the sake of the future development of government housing and its successful administration, it is essential to pay full regard to this fact. In the working out of the administrative machinery great care has been taken to avoid anything that would have the appearance of interfering with the local government. At the same time it is obviously essential that the federal government should take some responsibility with regard to the way in which their money is to be used. They certainly should give some leadership and guidance on the subject and afford an opportunity for co-ordinating the work of the various provinces.

As we shall see later, each province has, before getting the loan, to submit a general provincial scheme of housing for the approval of the federal government. Some kind of federal organization is necessary to examine these schemes, to report on them, and subsequently to exercise some oversight to see that they are carried out. All this must be done with great care and tact as a means of assisting the provincial governments, rather than as a means of criticising anything they do. Once each provincial scheme is approved by the federal government, the jurisdiction in respect of all local schemes will rest with the provincial authorities. In the same way it is expected that as a rule the provincial authorities will show a similar confidence in the municipalities and that once the municipal scheme of housing is settled the municipality will be left comparatively free to administer it and to obtain such loans as it requires to be spent in conformity with the scheme.

To put it briefly, the machinery represents complete co-operation between the federal, provincial and municipal governments with the responsibility divided as follows:

(a) *Federal*—Responsibility for approval of general schemes of each province dealing with the standards and conditions to be imposed by the province in making loans to municipalities; carrying out of advisory work

in connection with provincial legislation, forms of scheme, and preparation of plans and specifications, etc., and reporting on questions relating to standardization, comparative data collected from different provinces, etc.

(b) *Provincial*—Responsibility to repay loan to federal government and to administer the general scheme it has prepared and to secure from each municipality borrowing money a general municipal scheme for its own area.

(c) *Municipal*—Responsibility for repaying loan to the province and supervising and carrying out all housing schemes in accordance with the principles and standards included in the municipal scheme which is part of, or consistent with, the general provincial scheme.

The result of the procedure is that the real work and the real responsibility rests with the municipality, although in many cases commissions appointed in municipalities have to, or in some cases may be, appointed. At any rate the responsibility is local. It is near to the people. Close observation of the working out of details will be best attained by this means. It is likely that the municipalities will be slow to accept the responsibility. This has proved to be a stumbling block to housing progress in most countries where national housing has been carried out. It is also probable that some people will fear that our municipal administrations are not competent to undertake such additional responsibilities.

Undoubtedly there are defects in our municipal councils and forms of government and we can always find good reasons for withholding the giving of any added duties or powers to our municipal administrators, but I shall hazard the statement that the longer we continue to do that the longer we shall have to wait to get local bodies in whom we can have confidence. My own opinion is that we should pile up responsibility on the municipal authority for all matters of local administration; that we should not attempt to supersede them more than is necessary for purposes of co-ordination and general progress and that, even if this does produce mistakes, these mistakes will, on the whole, be less than if we attempted to centralize the machinery of the government too much and to create new forms of bureaucracy.

The actual progress made up to the present is that a federal office has been opened in which there are town planners, engineers and architects engaged in collecting data, preparing reports on different aspects of housing and town planning; preparing model plans for distribution to the provinces and municipalities; acting as a clearing house for information on all phases of the housing question; inquiring into questions of shortage of houses, etc. This office is in direct communication with the administrative departments of each of the provinces. The order-in-council setting out the dominion scheme was not completed and issued until each province had an opportunity of raising objections, the result being that the federal scheme was practically agreed to by all the provinces before it was made public. Since this federal scheme was issued, on February 20, the following provinces have passed acts of parliament to take advantage of the loan and deal with the procedure necessary for that purpose: Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia, leaving only two provinces which have, so far, not joined in the government scheme, for reasons that are local and not because they object to the scheme in any principle.

In four out of these seven provinces, general schemes of housing have been prepared and, in the other three, schemes are in course of preparation.

In Quebec and Ontario, directors of housing have been appointed and steps to create special officials are also being taken in the other provinces.

I am not able to enter into many details regarding the progress made, but will simply quote the latest report of the director of housing of the one province of Ontario, which names forty-seven municipalities which have passed the necessary by-laws bringing them under the provisions of "The Ontario Housing Act, 1919."

The Report says further:

"About five hundred plans have been approved by the director of the bureau of municipal affairs, and in a considerable number of the above mentioned municipalities houses are under construction.

"The director estimates that the loans required by these municipalites will aggregate nearly $10,000,000.

"About twenty municipalities are considering plans for acquiring land and erecting houses on a large scale. Some of them have already purchased land."

The largest city in the Province (Toronto) is not included in the list. It is preparing a scheme of its own under special powers, and purposes to carry it out by means of municipal bonds raised for the purpose.

I would refer those who are interested in obtaining further information to the report of the Ontario housing committee which contains a number of plans for use, if desired, by municipalities, and also to the regulations and forms of the Ontario province, both of which publications can be obtained from Mr. J. A. Ellis, Director of Housing, Parliament Buildings, Toronto.

You will see from the dates I have used and the progress already made that the process of joint co-operation of the three sets of government does not lead to any serious delay in administration.

II. STANDARDS AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF SCHEMES

In the order-in-council of February 20, the standards and principles of the federal scheme were set forth. The general object was stated to be as follows:

(a) To promote the erection of dwelling houses of modern character to relieve congestion of population in cities and towns; (b) to put within the reach of all working men, particularly returned soldiers, the opportunity of acquiring their own homes at actual cost of the building and land acquired at a fair value, thus eliminating the profits of the speculator; (c) to contribute to the general health and well-being of the community by encouraging suitable town planning and housing schemes.

FOUR CONDITIONS OF FEDERAL SCHEME TO BE COMPLIED WITH BY PROVINCES

Four conditions were attached to the proposed loan as follows:

(1) The general housing scheme had to be approved as already stated. It was required that the general scheme should include a schedule of minimum standards for purpose of health, comfort and convenience.

(2) Loans were restricted to $3,500 for frame or veneered dwelling, and $4,500 for dwellings of more durable construction as specified.

(3) Money could only be loaned to the provinces and municipalities, housing societies or companies with dividends limited to 6 per cent, and owners of lots for erecting houses for their own occupancy.

(4) The period was fixed to twenty years for local improvements such as

pavements, and frame or veneered buildings; and thirty years for land and more permanent buildings. Due regard is paid to the life of the improvements with a view to encouraging more permanent construction. Thus a loan of $3,000 for a frame dwelling for twenty years would cost about the same per month as a loan for a better house costing $4,000 for thirty years.

These are the four conditions, but attached to the government project are a number of recommendations with regard to standards. Some of the provinces are adopting these recommendations merely as suggestions to be made by them to the municipalities. Others are adopting them and making them compulsory, and others are going further in some respects and not so far in others.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS TO STANDARDS

I shall have to refer you to the federal scheme, a copy of which I shall be pleased to forward to any applicants, for the details of the standards, and will only draw attention to a few of the outstanding points. The standards set forth are very general and do not enter into much detail. The object was to secure the things that are essential, and that are usually overlooked in municipal by-laws.

They comprise recommendations that land be acquired by a speedy method at the lowest cost; that sites be properly planned and that local improvements, sewers and water supply, be provided in advance of the building of houses; that one tenth of all areas for housing schemes be reserved for open spaces; that not more than one tenth, and in no case than one eighth, of the gross cost per dwelling be spent on bare land; that certain standards be applied to the sizes of rooms, distances between buildings and to sanitary conditions. For instance, every house should have a bathroom.

PROPORTION OF COST OF LAND TO COST OF HOUSE

With regard to the suggestion that the cost of land should be fixed in proportion to the cost of the dwelling, the reference is to the land in an unimproved condition, but if pavements, sewers and water-mains are constructed it would mean that the proportion of the site of the dwelling might be a fourth or a fifth instead of an eighth or a tenth.

So far as the bare land is concerned, no workman's house should be erected on land that in an unimproved conditions costs more than an eighth or a tenth of the complete dwelling. One of the curious facts is that the provinces where land is most plentiful in relation to population are finding it most difficult to comply with this suggestion. In one of the old towns of Ontario, land is being obtained for building houses at $20 per lot, which will represent about a hundred and fiftieth part of the cost of the completed building inclusive of land and local improvements. The effect of this will be that the purchaser will be able to spend an extra $200 on his house more than he could have done on land costing the ordinary price in a small town. This $200 will go to supply those improved sanitary facilities that are usually left out through lack of means caused by the excessive cost of the site.

CANADIAN SCHEME SUITABLE FOR UNITED STATES CONDITIONS

I commend the Canadian scheme as an example that might very well be followed in the United States. You, too, should have your federal office of

housing and town planning, a co-ordinating and advisory bureau. The war has been won by organization as well as by the valor of our men. If it had gone on a few months longer you would have wasted more than you now need to spend in solving your housing problem. Your federal government should offer a sum of money which, to be equivalent to the Canadian appropriation, would be about $300,000,000 to assist the states to carry out housing and town planning schemes. This money should be lent at 4 per cent to be equivalent to our 5 per cent. It should be lent to your state governments after consultation with them, and after settlement with them of the principles that would govern the spending of the money on housing schemes. Each state would prepare its own housing scheme, and one main condition of any federal scheme should be that such a state scheme be prepared and approved before any loan is granted. Under state control the municipalities or housing commissions would work out the problem locally and would build houses where needed.

To make housing improvement more effective, however, it will be necessary to have better and more general town planning legislation in the states and to unite administration of housing and town planning together in a state department.

It seems difficult to believe that the American people, with all their resourcefulness, their love of freedom and humanity and their unequalled opportunities, will let their program of reconstruction continue to have the defect that it does not deal adequately with the most pressing social problem of our time. All of us realize what the housing problem is to-day in our big cities. In New York and Montreal it is getting beyond our control—by any means within our power. Let us ask ourselves what the problem will be in twenty years hence when the slum population has multiplied more rapidly than other classes of population, and our slum areas have grown relatively greater than now to our healthy areas, and the great cities are spread over double their present territory. There is hardly another social question to which it is more important that we should apply our energies, and there are few other social problems that can be effectively dealt with, without at the same time dealing with the problem of improving housing conditions.

THE GOOD NATIONAL BUDGET BILL

BY W. F. WILLOUGHBY
Director, Institute for Government Research, Washington, D. C.

The Good Bill is built up from the researches of Mr. Willoughby whose long preparation now nears fruition. The article is dated June first and the bill reprinted here is as originally introduced.

Prior to the recent assembling of congress in special session, Republican leaders announced that among the measures of national importance that they would seek to have enacted during the session was one providing for the adoption by the government of a scientific budget system.

Promptly upon congress convening, Mr. Good, chairman of the house committee on appropriations, introduced the accompanying bill calling for this action.[1] Though this bill is but one of a number having the same end in view, it is undoubtedly the one which will receive the most attention and will probably furnish the basis for any legislation regarding the matter that may result. There can be no doubt about the earnestness of the author of the bill in his desire to have the bill acted upon. It has been referred to his committee and he has announced that hearings upon it will shortly be had.

In view of this, it is highly important that all persons interested in the promotion of this fundamental reform in the system of financial administration of the national government should familiarize themselves with the provisions of this measure and give to it such support as they are able.

[1] H. R. 1201: A bill to Provide a National Budget System and an Independent Audit of Government Accounts and for Other Purposes.

In considering any measure of national reform it is always desirable to distinguish clearly between the theoretically desirable and the practically feasible. Especially is this so in the case of the measure under consideration. No one can study the problem of a national budget without being impressed with the fact that, while the principles underlying this system are comparatively simple, the actual work of putting the administration of the financial affairs of the national government upon such a basis is a task of the greatest magnitude. There is scarcely a phase of public administration that will not be vitally affected by the change. If fully adopted, a budget system will radically alter the relations between the President and congress, and the President and all subordinate administrative officers. It will necessitate a thorough-going revision of the rules of the two houses. It requires a complete recasting of the accounting and reporting system of the treasury. Finally, it renders desirable, if not imperative, that an entirely new status shall be given to the offices of the comptroller of the Treasury and the six auditors of the executive departments, and profoundly modifies the character and scope of their duties.

In view of the importance and variety of these changes, it is not remarkable that congress may hesitate

to take the action that will necessitate the effecting of all these changes at one time. To the legislator occupying the position of responsibility that does the author of the present bill, the problem thus presents the two phases of what he would like to accomplish, and what, under existing circumstances, he believes can be done. That Mr. Good is a thorough believer in the budget system with all its implications there can, the writer believes, be no doubt. If this bill does not provide for all the features that advocates of budgetary reform would like to see incorporated in it, it is not due to any lack of good will on the part of the author, but to the fact that, in his opinion, congress cannot be induced at this time to go further than is there provided. To us who are interested in this great reform the important thing to determine is whether the action that is called for is in the right direction and whether the door is still open for further advances as circumstances may permit. If we find that the bill has this character, it is our duty to support it. While it is entirely proper to point out wherein it fails to provide for action that must be taken if the administration of the national finances is to be put upon a complete budgetary basis, it would be unfortunate in the extreme to make these omissions a point of attack instead of the good features a matter of urgent advocacy.

It is not intended by the foregoing to indicate that the bill as it stands is a half-hearted measure. On the contrary it is in many respects an extremely radical proposition and if enacted will constitute a long step towards the goal which the most pronounced supporters of a budgetary system have in view. This, it is believed, will fully appear in the brief analysis of the bill that follows.

A correct understanding of this, as well as any budget bill, is only possible when recognition is had of the fact that a budgetary system has three distinct phases: the formulation and submission of a budget; action upon the budget by the body to which submitted; and the execution or control of the budget after it is enacted, or, to speak more correctly, the execution or control of the legislation having for its purpose to put the budgetary proposals into effect, since the budget as such is not enacted. The Good bill addresses itself to but the first and third of these three phases. The second, which has to do with action upon the budget after it is received by congress, involves the question of its reference to a committee or committees; the provisions that shall govern such committee or committees in their consideration of it, the right of members to propose amendments to it after it is reported, or to initiate and secure consideration of independent revenue and expenditure proposals, and many other matters of parliamentary practice and procedure, all of which can be handled only by formal amendment of the rules of the two houses. It is thus exceedingly difficult, if not practically impossible, to seek to cover this phase of budgetary reform by means of a statutory proposal. That it is not covered by the bill under consideration is, therefore, no defect in that measure. It only means that, if the bill is enacted, efforts must then be directed towards securing that reform in the rules of the house and senate which is essential if the full benefits of a budgetary system are to be secured.

Turning now to a more detailed consideration of the bill, the first point to be noted is that it provides for the definite recognition of that fundamental principle of any correct bud-

getary system that upon the chief executive, and the chief executive alone, rests the responsibility of determining and of laying before the fund-raising and fund-granting authority, the legislature, a statement of the provisions which, in the opinion of the administration, should be made for meeting the revenue and expenditure needs of the government. Under the bill, as drafted, the President hereafter will be the only officer authorized to request of congress the modification of revenue laws or the grant of funds. All requests for funds as they originate in the several departments and bureaus will be submitteed to him instead of, as at present, directly to congress through the secretary of the treasury as a compiling but non-revising organ. These requests will be examined by the President, accepted, rejected, or modified by him as he sees fit, after which they will be laid before congress with his recommendations. The estimates of appropriations will thus be the estimates of the President for which he must assume full responsibility. As Mr. Good said in a statement which he gave to the public at the time that he introduced the bill:

> It (the bill) makes the President responsible for the budget. Under the present law no one is responsible for the estimates. If duplications, waste, extravagance and inefficiency exist in the services, which are purely administrative failures, the President will be responsible for them if he includes in his budget an estimate for their continuation.

In the second place the bill provides that the recommendations of the President in respect to the financial needs of the government shall go forward in the form of a single, consolidated and co-ordinated document. This document, to which is given the name budget, is to set forth in detail and in summary form balanced statements of the resources and liabilities of the government, the revenues and expenditures of the government in the past, the estimated revenues and expenditures of the year in progress, and the revenues and expenditures which, in the opinion of the President, should be provided for for the year to follow; and is to be supported by such further data, analyses, explanations and comments as, in the opinion of the President, are necessary in order to get before congress a clear picture of financial conditions and operations and a comprehensive co-ordinated work program for the future.

Thirdly, the bill makes careful provision for a special service, to be known as the bureau of the budget, directly under the President, which shall have as its function to assist the President in meeting the responsibilities thrown upon him in respect to the formulation of his budget. In the performance of its duties, this service, when authorized by the President, will have full power to call upon all officers of the government for such information regarding the organization, activities and methods of business of their respective services, and to make such investigations of these services as may be deemed desirable by the President in order that he may intelligently pass upon requests for funds emanating from them and in other respects meet his budgetary obligations. It is, furthermore, specially directed to make a careful investigation of all provisions of law dealing in any way with the preparation and transmission to congress of estimates, and the preparation and submission to congress of financial data of any character in order to determine what changes should be made in such provisions of law to the end that all requirements in respect to the reporting to congress of financial data and estimates shall be brought

together in one place, co-ordinated, revised and brought into harmony with the budget system to be established by the bill. The results of this examination are to be embodied in a report or reports to the President which the latter is requested to submit to congress with such recommendations for action as he deems proper.

At this point mention should be made of a feature of the bill which, while probably necessary, is far from satisfactory as a permanent arrangement. If a budget is properly to perform its function it must be drawn with extreme care with a view to the presentation of the data contained in it in a form that will permit of their purport being readily grasped. This means that the items contained in the statements of revenues and expenditures and revenue and expenditure proposals should be listed and classified according to some definite principle or principles. Especially is it important that all expenditures and estimates for a service shall be brought together in one place. This is not done at the present time. One of the gravest defects in the existing appropriation system is that the financial needs of a department or bureau, instead of being provided for in one act, are, for the most part, scattered through a number of acts which are handled by a number of committees acting independently of each other. In order that this system may be followed congress has provided that estimates of appropriations shall be correspondingly scattered and separately presented. Until this requirement is abolished, it is impossible to give to a budget the form that it should have. Unfortunately this cannot be done until congress is willing to change its rules of procedure which now recognize the nature and contents of existing appropriation acts and the committees by which they are to be handled. Pending the accomplishment of this reform which, as stated, must be effected by a change in the rules of the two houses the best that the Good bill could do was to provide that the President, while having full power to determine the amounts of money which in his opinion should be appropriated, should, as far as possible, make his budget conform in manner of presentation to that now in force. In recognition of the defects of this system, the bill, however, also provides that the President shall have a free hand to formulate and present to congress another document which shall set forth the items listed and classified in such a way as to conform to the requirements of a properly constructed budget. Manifestly such an arrangement is unsatisfactory as a definite provision. This feature of the bill must, therefore, be looked upon as a temporary provision adopted only as an expedient to meet a situation which it is hoped will shortly pass away.

In the foregoing we have considered only those features of the Good bill having to do with the first phase of the budgetary problem—that of the formulation and submission of a budget by the President. The last half of the bill deals with the third phase—that of the execution, or rather supervision over the execution, of the budgetary provisions after they are enacted into law. A legislature has performed only a part of its duty when it has granted funds to the administration with which to carry on the activities of the government. It still has the obligation of assuring itself that its agent, the administration, faithfully complies with the instructions that have been given to it through the revenue, appropriation and other statutory enactments. This is necessary, not only in order that the administration

may be subject to proper control, but that the legislature may have the information needed by it in passing upon administrative proposals for future expenditures. Such a control or supervision can only be secured when provision is made for the examination of the accounts of the administration by an officer who is independent of the administration and reports direct to the legislature. At the present time the national government has a comptroller of the treasury and six auditors of the executive departments. These officers, however, are officers of the executive branch. They interpret their duties in the exceedingly narrow sense of seeing merely that the technical requirements of the law are complied with. Only in a very slight degree do they consider it a part of their duties to criticise the acts of the administration or to bring to the attention of the legislature matters which, in the interest of efficiency and economy in the conduct of public affairs, should be brought to their notice. The fact that they are officers of the administration makes it difficult for them to do so.

The present bill corrects all this. Following the British system, it makes provision for a comptroller-general who will, as far as possible, be independent of both the legislative and executive branches of the government. The intention is to give him such a status of security and permanency that he will have all the independence of a federal judge. This officer will take over the duties now performed by the comptroller of the treasury and the six auditors of the executive departments. In addition to performing these duties it is furthermore made his specific duty, annually, to report to congress the results of his examination of the public accounts together with recommendations of the action which in his opinion should be taken to improve the methods of handling the financial affairs of the nation. That the matter may not stop here, provision is also made for a permanent joint committee on receipts and expenditures of the government, whose duty it will be to receive the report of the comptroller-general and see that due consideration is given to the recommendations contained in it, and to take such other action as in its opinion is necessary in order to correct defects or abuses in matters of financial administration.

In the preceding paragraphs we have been able to do little more than seek to make known the general character and purpose of the Good bill. Space does not permit of our entering into a more detailed examination of its technical features. It is hoped, however, that enough has been given to show that, while this bill far from provides for all the action that must be taken if a thoroughly satisfactory budgetary system is to be secured, it does make a long step in this direction. Of supreme importance is the fact that, if enacted, it definitely commits the national government to a budget system. The way is thus opened for progressive reform in this field. The rapidity with which this reform is accomplished will depend in large part upon the pressure which public opinion can bring to bear upon congress and the President to do that which is now so generally accepted as essential if a really efficient administration of national affairs is to be secured.

SUMMARY OF H. R. 1201

The Good Budget Bill

House bill No. 1201 provides for the creation of a bureau of the budget in the office of the President, having a bureau director and assistant director, at salaries of $10,000 and $7,500, respectively, appointed by the President. Employes of the bureau are to be under civil service rules; $100,000 is appropriated for the maintenance of the bureau during the year beginning July 1.

All heads of executive departments are required annually to submit to the President estimates of the financial requirements of their departments. The secretary of the treasury will also submit such estimates of the public revenues as the President may direct. The President will then prepare, with the assistance of the new bureau a budget containing balanced statements of the resources and liabilities of the government, the revenues and expenditures for the previous fiscal year, estimates of the revenues and expenditures for the current fiscal year, and estimates of the revenue and expenditure needs for the ensuing fiscal year. This budget will be submitted to congress by the President, together with his recommendations for meeting the revenue needs of the government, and with such other data or recommendations as he may see fit. He may also submit additional estimates from time to time; but no other executive officer shall submit to congress estimates for revenue or expenditures unless at its request.

Present legal requirements governing the contents, order, and arrangement of the estimates of appropriations and receipts shall be observed in the preparation of the budget; but the President is authorized to submit an alternative budget prepared according to any system of classification and itemization which he may consider serves better to convey the essential facts regarding the condition of the treasury and what in his opinion are the revenue and expenditure needs of the government.

The bill also provides for the creation of an accounting department, to be independent of the executive branch of the government, under the direction of a comptroller general and assistant comptroller general, who shall be appointed by the President, with salaries respectively of $10,000 and $7,500. These officials shall hold office during good behavior, but either may be removed at any time by resolution of congress for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. The offices of comptroller of the treasury and assistant comptroller of the treasury are abolished, and their duties, together with those generally of the six auditors of the various departments of the executive branch, are vested in the auditing departments and shall be exercised without direction from any other officer. All claims and demands by or against the federal government, and all accounts in which it is concerned, shall be settled in the accounting department. The comptroller general is to make to congress a periodic report covering the receipt and disbursement of public funds, with his recommendations relating to the work of the department; $100,000 is appropriated for the maintenance of the department during the year beginning July 1.

The bill further provides for a permanent joint committee of congress on receipts and expenditures of the government, consisting of three members of each house, to investigate methods and procedure relating to the receipts and expenditures of the government, including estimates, appropriations, audits, and accounts, and to recommend advisable changes.

THE WORK OF THE RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATURES

BY FREDERICK REX, RICHARD S. CHILDS, AND MANY HELPFUL CORRESPONDENTS

One of our ambitions for the "Review" in its new monthly form is to make it more of a newspaper; hence this attempt to cover the legislative high points as early as possible. Since five legislatures are still in session as we go to press, the record is necessarily incomplete. Corrections will be welcomed and will be published later. See also the summary in the Editorials.

GOVERNOR SMITH in his message to the New York legislature in January set the proper pace for all the states at this time. He emphasized the problems of reconstruction with which the nation is confronted and the great need of effective and sane co-operation on the part of the state and local authorities. He urged enactment of laws for the relief of the injured, crippled and incapacitated soldiers and sailors; for the proper care of the widows, orphans and other dependents of heroes; and for remedying the unemployment due to the readjustment of business and industry from a war to a peace basis. Among other problems of reconstruction cited by Governor Smith as pressing for solution, are

(a) The enactment of measures of taxation which will bear equally upon all classes.

(b) Provision for the production and distribution of the necessities of life so that the people may obtain them at the lowest cost.

(c) Enactment of more stringent and universal laws for the protection of the health, comfort, welfare and efficiency of the people.

(d) The problems of finance and banking, as well as questions of sanitation, unemployment, labor, the position of women in industry, education and military training.

(e) The readjustment of costs, production and distribution of food stuffs and fuel, wages and employment.

RECONSTRUCTION COMMISSIONS

As an effective means of assisting in the solution of the foregoing problems, Governor Smith appointed an important reconstruction commission empowered to make investigations and to report on the industrial, commercial, economic, sociological and military needs and requirements of the state which have been produced by the World War and the readjustment to conditions of peace.

The legislature being of the opposite political party, refused to make any appropriation for the commission and the latter was forced to do what it could with private subscriptions. It was a rather typical result of the impact of war-time idealism upon the reactionary legislative mind. The commission made only one recommendation before the legislature adjourned. That was for the continuation of the state employment bureau, for which purpose $230,000 was appropriated.

A bill was introduced in the Illinois

senate providing for a state council of reconstruction, employment and relief, consisting of fifteen persons appointed by the governor, whose duty it shall be to assist returning soldiers, sailors and marines to find employment, to co-operate with other agencies of the state in furnishing employment and sustenance, and to recommend to the governor and to the assembly such laws as are necessary to carry out the spirit of this enactment.

Pennsylvania has continued its war-time commission of public safety and defense as a commission of public welfare with authority to undertake Americanization of the foreign-born, aid any good civic social betterment enterprise, and compile a history of Pennsylvania's part in the war.

HOUSING

Governor Lowden, in his biennial message to the Illinois legislature, urged that a state-wide housing code be adopted as a means of preventing the erection of houses which are inimical to public health, and for the purpose of rigidly controlling future building conditions; a bill has been introduced in the Assembly to this effect.

A policy for correcting bad housing conditions in Milwaukee was submitted to its mayor. It suggests action along the following lines, as necessary to a solution of the housing problem: (a) The elimination of speculative land values in some residential districts; (b) zoning of the city to safeguard all residential districts; (c) economical and adequate planning of streets, transportation, sewerage disposal, water supply, lighting, planting of trees; (d) elimination of waste in the construction of homes; (e) acquiring for wage earners the benefits of ownership without interfering with labor mobility; (f) legislation aiming to stimulate the erection of wage earners' homes; (g) public instruction as to the possibilities of housing betterment.

"Speculative building methods," says the report, "have failed in Europe and in this country to provide wage earners' homes of a type commensurate with the cost involved. Under this system it is quite impossible to build wholesome dwellings for low paid workers. It, therefore, seems to be a duty of the state to devise methods whereby the new spirit of common responsibility for the community welfare, which is true democracy, may provide a better means of safeguarding the homes of the people against bad conditions than a category of legal restrictions. Constructive legislation stimulating the erection of wholesome homes for wage earners through state or municipal loans is no more class legislation than is legislation establishing schools, hospitals or public parks. It should aim to remove the objectionable features of present methods and make it possible for all people in Wisconsin to enjoy those environments which make for wholesome, contented lives. Progress in this direction is being made elsewhere. It should be possible to accomplish it in this state."

The committee on housing appointed by Mayor Peters in January submitted a report on housing laws and conditions in Boston and recommended to the legislature for passage a suitable act incorporating the principal findings of the committee as follows: 1, A "housing law," distinct from a "building law"; 2, Strict enforcement of all building and health laws which apply to housing; 3, More light and air in congested districts; 4, Removal of all dwellings no longer fit for habitation; 5, Public improvement of the north end as proposed by the city planning board; 6, Public assistance toward

the building of "multiple dwellings" at low rental; 7, Organized development of public interest in health and housing; 8, No more wooden three-deckers, but non-combustible walls, with wooden porches if desired.

Texas passed a constitutional amendment, subject to ratification at the polls, permitting the use of state credit to assist heads of families to acquire or improve their homes, and authorizing the state to acquire, improve, sell or lease real estate. The form which this will take depends upon further legislation which is to follow the adoption of the amendment and may provide colonization or loans for home-building anywhere.

The state-owned home building association created in North Dakota is authorized to take land, plan it, build houses, provide utilities thereto and sell on an installment plan. The state will lend 80 per cent on mortgage and is to be fortified against loss by the fact that each buyer must join risks with nine others in a home-buyers league pledging up to 15 per cent of his own property in a mutual guarantee of the loans of all the members. Payments are monthly over a period of twenty years. The funds are to be found by the cash deposits of the first 20 per cent by each buyer and the sale of these group-protected mortgages. Thus a home costing $4,000 can be acquired when $800 has been accumulated in deposits in the association and the payments thereafter will be $26 a month for twenty years with a chance for delay in case of crop failure or sickness.

Numerous bills in many legislatures aimed to give relief to tenants from increased rents and offered to municipalities power to provide housing.

New York's contribution to the housing problem is an elaborate investigation by Governor Smith's reconstruction committee and another by a joint legislative committee. At the four-day woman suffrage session in June, a bill was passed relaxing the tenement house law by permitting conversion of four-story dwellings to four-family tenements. Congress was urged by resolution to exempt mortgage bonds from income taxes.

WAR VETERANS

The Chicago city council last December voted to submit to the legislature a bill to amend the state law relating to the civil service of cities by providing that preference in civil service examinations be extended to those who have been engaged in the military, naval or aerial service of the United States during the years 1898–1902 and during the years 1914–1919. Its passage is reported to be certain.

In several other states the integrity of the civil service was threatened by schemes to give preference in appointment to veterans of the war. In New York such a bill passed, but being a constitutional amendment must pass again two years hence. A similar bill passed in California, while numerous bills having the same purpose were introduced in Pennsylvania, but are all probably unconstitutional.

Extension of the state's established land settlement policy to provide work and rural homes for returned soldiers is the outstanding item of the reconstruction legislation of the 1919 California legislature. Two measures carried out this program. One amended the state land settlement act of 1917, under which the Durham colony is now operating, by providing for preferences to returned service men in the sale of farm allotments, and appropriating $1,000,000 for immediate extension of the work. The other provides for a bond issue of $10,000,000 to be

voted on in November, 1920, for a comprehensive land settlement program. Provision is made for co-operation in any plan which may be adopted by the United States government.

To give assistance to returned soldiers in finding employment and otherwise assisting in the return to civil life, a state committee on soldiers' employment and readjustment was provided for early in the session. This committee succeeded to the work of the state council of defense. Under the chairmanship of the adjutant general, the committee has endeavored to co-ordinate effort in placing soldiers in positions and in encouraging industrial activity.

The New York legislature had before it numerous bills recognizing the valor and services of soldiers and sailors.

A proposed bill sought to exempt from taxation dwelling houses owned or occupied by any member or honorably discharged veteran of the military or naval forces of the United States who has actually served overseas.

Another bill proposed a state scholarship for each honorably discharged veteran of the world war who is a resident of the state, and whose course of study was interrupted by entering the military or naval service. Such veteran must have been actually enrolled in a college or have entered upon the second year of preparatory work therefor and attended school at the time of or during the school term immediately proceeding his entry into the service.

The scholarship entitles the holder to tuition and room rent for the period of the regular college course of four collegiate years, or such portion thereof as may not have been completed at the time of his entry into such service, and to admission into any college of the state, of his selection, for which he is or shall become prepared.

Four hundred and fifty state scholarships were finally provided in the bill as passed, entitling each holder to $100 a year for tuition and $100 a year for maintenance in any college or technical school in the state.

North Dakota imposes a half-mill tax for a soldiers' compensation fund from which any returned North Dakotan soldier can draw $25 for every month he was in service, providing he uses the money toward building a home or completing his education.

Vermont provided for a census of "farms for sale" to be published by the commissioner of agriculture, who is directed to make the information available to returned soldiers and to co-operate with the federal government in placing soldiers on Vermont farms.

Idaho created a soldiers settlement board with an appropriation of $100,000 to be spent in co-operation with the federal government in aiding returned soldiers to obtain homes on state land.

Texas passed a measure which prohibits the sale under execution, deed of trust, mortgage or lien, of property belonging to soldiers and sailors now or recently in service, until twelve months after discharge. A great flurry, which involved a special four-day session of the legislature, resulted in a law to make it possible for returned soldiers to vote without waiting a year for certain normal legal formalities. A resolution was passed charging the governor with the duty of giving their old jobs to state employees returning from service.

TAXATION

Tax reform was probably the most notable achievement of the Indiana legislature. A new tax law was enacted, but in view of the conviction that the legislature could not do all that should be done because of present constitutional limitations, two

resolutions for amendments to the constitution were adopted. One would permit the legislature to classify property for taxation and the other specifically authorizes an income tax.

The new tax law is a striking piece of legislation because of the power it gives to the state board of tax commissioners over both local and state levies and over bond issues of any municipal corporation. The law also gives the state board power to remove local assessors for misconduct or inefficiency and to order reassessments at any time, which means that real estate, which is ordinarily assessed every four years, may be assessed oftener if the state board chooses. The law is already in force and property is being assessed under it. It provides for a true cash value assessment. The old law had this provision but it was never enforced. Now with the great power the state board has, it is undertaking to enforce a 100 per cent assessment. It is predicted that the total valuation will be more than double what it was under the old law. This might open the way to excessive taxation if former tax rates were levied, but the new law has the remarkable provision that no greater revenue shall be raised in any taxing unit for any succeeding year than will be raised under the rates levied for this year on the old valuation. This provision will force a reduction in rates corresponding to the increase of valuations under the 100 per cent plan. That is to say, if valuations are doubled, tax rates will have to be cut in two. If any taxing unit desires to raise more revenue hereafter than heretofore, it must petition the state tax board for permission. A levy of $1.50 on $100 for all purposes may be assessed by any taxing unit without consent of the state board providing that levy will not raise more revenue next year than was raised this year. The state board, on petition, may reduce levies as well as increase them.

The law also places much power in the state tax board by the provision that no bonds shall be issued without the board's approval. The exception to this provision is that if a bond issue of $50,000 or more is disapproved by the state board, the decision of the board may be overthrown by a referendum election in the taxing unit proposing the bond issue. The power to pass on tax rates and bond issues will add a vast amount of work for the state tax board. While the bill was under consideration, it was attacked on the ground that it invaded the right of local self-government, but the opposition was not very strong. As the bill was introduced, it provided for a deduction of 75 per cent from the assessed value of intangibles, the expectation being that this would bring intangibles out of hiding. But the farmers and others made a persistent fight against this provision, and it was rejected by the house. Then the senate put in a provision that intangibles should be taxed according to their income, but in final conference this was thrown out. Under the old law, with most kinds of property assessed at from 30 to 50 per cent of their value, little intangible property got on the duplicate. A tax rate of about 3 per cent the state over, and even 5 per cent in some cities would eat up practically all the income from intangibles. If property is now under the new law put on the duplicate at approximately 100 per cent of its value and tax rates are cut in two, it may be that more intangibles will come out of hiding, for the tax rate will probably be between 1½ and 2 per cent.

The power of the state tax board extends to state tax rates. For

example, the levy for the two universities and the state normal school is 7 mills. With the total valuation of the property of the state doubled, the state tax board will cut the levy practically in two. The power of the state board over state tax rates extends for two years, the idea being that the next legislature shall decide whether the power is to continue.

The law is regarded as an interesting experiment in taxation, and its workings will probably be of interest to other commonwealths.

Sweeping changes in taxation were enacted in North Dakota. Assessable property is reclassified as follows: railroads, farm lands, bank stocks, flour mills, elevators, public utilities and urban business buildings with their lots are to be assessed at full 100 per cent value. Live stock, agricultural tools, motor vehicles and homes in towns are to be assessed at 50 per cent of true value. Farm improvements, town residences up to $1,000 value, $300 worth of personal property, $300 worth of workmen's tools and $1,000 worth of farm implements and machinery are exempt.

A new income tax law classifies incomes as earned or unearned and imposes graduated taxes. The highest rate is 10 per cent on incomes over $30,000. Earned income is money earned by personal services or derived from a business personally managed; $1,000,000 a year is expected from this tax.

A moderate income tax of 1 per cent on incomes up to $10,000, 2 per cent on incomes up to $50,000 and 3 per cent on larger ones is New York's answer to the loss of $22,000,000 of liquor revenues. It is estimated to yield $40,000,000. This sum will be divided half and half with the local governments. Corporations suffer a 50 per cent increase in their franchise taxes and of the $24,000,000 expected from this source, a third will go to the local governments.

The Illinois legislature at present writing has not adjourned. Reform of taxation methods was agitated and important bills were introduced providing for a state tax commission with adequate powers to supervise assessments. This would abolish the elective state board of equalization of twenty-six members. A franchise tax on corporations is one of the promising revenue plans.

Prohibition cost Texas $800,000 a year out of about $15,000,000 revenues. A tax on crude oil was increased to 1½ per cent, yielding a new $1,000,000 of income.

After a bitter fight in the Missouri legislature to abolish the state tax commission on the one hand, and to increase its powers and enforce 100 per cent assessment on the other, the commission was practically eliminated as a tax improvement factor, with no change in the government basis.

REORGANIZATION OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

Governor Smith in his message found that there are too many state commissions and boards and that much of the work of his state could be consolidated under single-headed commissions or by officers elected under the constitution. Little was done, however, except to pass a dubious measure demolishing the Public Service Commission.

Illinois has passed a bill providing for a convention to revise, alter and amend the Constitution of Illinois to convene on the fifth day of January, 1920, at Springfield. The convention shall consist of 102 delegates—two from each senatorial district. These delegates shall possess the same quali-

fications as required of senators, shall be nominated at a primary election held on the tenth day of September, 1919, and shall be voted for at the election in November.

Pennsylvania provided for a commission to study and report to the general assembly upon the subject of the revision and amendment of the constitution.

The Indiana general assembly fulfilled most of the short-ballot pledges contained in the Republican state platform, with two notable exceptions. It failed to pass a bill permitting cities to adopt the commission or commission-manager form of government, and it failed to pass a bill to make the attorney-general appointive by the governor instead of elective. The bill failed to pass after it was amended to make the term four years, instead of two, the term to run concurrently with the term of governor, which is four years. The cry of centralization of power was raised, and the personal influence of the present attorney-general was exerted against the proposed change. The legislature, however, abolished the elective offices of state statistician and state geologist.

Also in keeping with the platform, resolutions for constitutional amendments were adopted to make the offices of clerk of the supreme court and superintendent of public instruction appointive instead of elective. These are constitutional offices, so resolutions will have to be approved by the next legislature before they can be submitted for approval of the people. It is proposed to authorize the supreme and appellate courts to appoint the clerk, and to authorize the state board of education to appoint the state superintendent of public instruction.

A department of banking and a department of insurance were created, the governor to appoint the commissioners. These departments have been under the elective state auditor.

North Dakota constituted its governor, attorney-general and commissioner of agriculture and labor—all of whom are elective—an industrial commission, and put into their hands the organization and management of a new state-owned bank—the bank of North Dakota—a terminal elevator and flour mill association and a home building association.[1]

The North Dakota mill and elevator association will engage in the business of manufacturing and marketing farm products with warehouses, elevators and flour mills on a state bond issue of $5,000,000. The farmer will be allowed to deliver his grain to the state terminal elevators and receive a receipt on which he can borrow if he thinks it best to wait for a higher market. The scheme has precedent in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Fairer grading of the wheat is promised on a scientific standard. The powers of the association are sufficient to enable it to set up bakeries in Chicago, or New York, and sell bread if it chooses.

Idaho repealed the direct primary law so far as state and congressional officers are concerned and returned to the party convention.

An important measure, already described in the National Municipal Review, reorganized the state administration into nine departments under the governor, instead of forty-eight divisions.

In California the governor appointed a commission on efficiency and economy to overhaul the state administration. The California taxpayers' association met it with a thorough and comprehensive plan for departmentalizing the state government and was partially successful with the commis-

[1] See vol. viii, p. 330.

sion. The governor, however, apparently lost heart in the enterprise and transmitted the report to the legislature without his endorsement, whereupon the effort failed. One department, the agricultural, was created, however, by the consolidation of several boards and officers.

The Pennsylvania legislature has had before it a comprehensive series of bills reorganizing all state departments.

The Michigan legislature passed a central purchasing bill and a provision for uniform accounting.

A determined effort in Missouri, backed by the mayors, to secure a constitutional convention ran afoul of gerrymander jealousies and failed.

Texas followed many other central western states by creating a board of control to co-ordinate the management of its institutions. Six other boards or offices were abolished as well as the various boards of managers of most of the various state institutions. In addition the board of control is to prepare a biennial budget covering not merely its own institutions but all state offices and also is to do all state purchasing, printing and auditing. The board of control consists of three members, with six-year overlapping terms, appointed by the governor.

Texas will submit the question of a constitutional convention in November. If the election is carried, delegates will be elected in March, 1920, and the convention will convene in June following. It will consist of 142 members. The Texas library and historical commission is asking an appropriation for preparatory work.

California also votes in November on the call for a convention to meet in 1922.

BUDGETS

Signal progress was made in this field, for nine states adopted the executive budget principle. Three of them, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Wyoming, followed the Virginia budget law of 1918. Nevada made a verbatim copy of the Utah law which in turn is taken from the Maryland law. The other new budget states are Arizona, Idaho, New Hampshire, Michigan and Colorado. Indiana put through the legislature a constitutional amendment for a budget, subject to repassage and adoption two years hence. Nebraska improved its 1915 law by substituting a copy of the Illinois procedure. Alabama created a budget board and Texas gave budget functions to its new board of control.

Colorado's bill for an executive budget is typical. It requires all the administrative officers to send the governor their estimates before November 30, itemized as the governor may require. The governor shall revise the estimates and submit them to the legislature on January 15, together with revenue plans and comparative statistics of previous periods. The governor, auditor and department heads shall have the right to appear and be heard in the legislature on the appropriation bill. A budget and efficiency commission is created, appointed by the governor, for a four-year term, at salaries of $3,600, to act as statistician and investigator with access to all state records.

There are now only thirteen states left where the initiation of budgets has not been more or less definitely turned over to the executive department.

California's budget system failed to achieve economy. The budget board, consisting of the members of the board of control and the controller, diligently studied departmental demands and pruned them down to a practicable total. The legislature passed the budget and then went romping off with

extra pork legislation to the tune of $15,000,000, much of which, however, the governor was expected to veto.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Governor Edge of New Jersey dwelt at length in his message upon the merits of the city-manager plan of municipal government, and declared in favor of the enactment of legislation giving cities power to adopt any form of government which may meet local conditions and local wishes. The bill, however, failed of passage. Similar bills failed in New Hampshire, Illinois, Tennessee and Missouri.

In Indiana the city-manager bill passed one house in defective form and was about to be passed in the other under pressure from Governor Goodrich when it was discovered that the amendments were mislaid. A frenzied search in the closing hours of the session was unavailing and the opportunity was lost.

A permissive bill was passed in the Wisconsin legislature providing for the city-manager plan of government for the cities of the state. The bill is brief and simple, stipulating the conditions under which it may be possible for the Wisconsin cities to operate under the city-manager plan. All the powers of city government remain the same except that they are differently distributed, the legislative powers being conferred upon the council, and all executive and administrative powers upon the city manager. This bill is so drawn as to fit into the general charter law, and to make it possible for a city to adopt the city-manager plan with as little departure from the general charter law of the state as possible. A feature of the bill is that in the make-up of the legislative council each city is given wide latitude. Any city can adopt the city-manager plan and practically leave its legislative council composed as under the old scheme. It may determine the number of councilmen composing the council, their term of office, and their manner of election whether by wards or from the city at large.

A bill in California permitting the little sixth class cities to provide by ordinance for the employment of city managers passed but failed to receive the governor's approval. Another proposed for these cities provides: "Whenever the state university or extension division thereof establishes correspondence or other courses of training for administrative offices in municipalities, such as the office of city clerk, attorney, health officer, manager, engineer or street superintendent, the board of trustees of such city shall, if practicable, make such appointments from persons who have taken and completed such courses and received a diploma or other certificate of their proficiency."

Two great special efforts were made to reorganize the municipal governments of Chicago and Philadelphia. The Chicago bills backed by fifteen civic organizations originally proposed the city-manager plan, *i.e.*, the council to elect the mayor. The city council would not endorse this, but did endorse the remainder of the program including bills to reduce the council from 70 to 35 members, to make the term of councilmen four years with limited recall, to shorten the ballot by making the elective treasurer and clerk appointive by the council, and make the ballot nonpartisan. They all died in committee in the legislature.

In Harrisburg, excellent measures to simplify the political jungle of Philadelphia were enacted. The major projects of the program are to abolish

the big bicameral council with its 140 members in favor of a single council of 21 and to set up a sound budget procedure.

A bill introduced unavailingly into the Ohio legislature from Cleveland would have put before the people at the fall election an amendment to the state constitution designed to permit a union of city and county. The amendment would provide a means by which any county of the state could reorganize its government and adopt a home-rule charter.

A proposed constitutional amendment in Oregon provided for consolidating the city of Portland with Multnomah county. It was not passed.

An interesting constitutional amendment that failed of passage in Utah encouraged consolidation of cities and county governments.

A bill lost in the Missouri legislature sought to make possible the separation of Kansas City from Jackson county. The people of Kansas City could provide by amendment of the city charter for such separation, determine upon the offices to be established or abolished, arrange the details or basis upon which the new government shall be grounded, and otherwise assume the functions of both city and county governments within the limits of the city.

A constitutional amendment submitted to the voters by the Missouri legislature proposes to give Kansas City power to adopt any form of government it desires. This is to escape the present constitutional provision, from which only St. Louis is exempt, practically limiting cities to the bicameral form. A second amendment offered by the legislature increases the general bonding power of St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph from 5 to 10 per cent of the assessed valuation, and permits the issuance of bonds to the extent of 20 per cent for the purpose of building or purchasing public utilities. Bills were also passed permitting the consolidation of city and county tax and finance offices; and increasing the pay of the Kansas City police. Important bills defeated were the Australian ballot and election reform bill, the St. Louis police home rule bill, and an excess condemnation bill.

The subject of city-county consolidation is also under discussion in the city of Birmingham, Alabama.

Mayor James Couzens, in his inaugural message, urged that the common council consider the project of combining the city and county governments of Detroit, following the plan adopted in Denver and San Francisco.

The Utah legislature passed a constitutional amendment giving cities the right to frame and adopt their own charters. The measure is apparently self-executing. The state retains the power "to enact general laws applicable alike to all cities of the state" while each city obtains power "to exercise all powers relating to municipal affairs and to adopt and enforce within its limits local police, sanitary and similar regulations not in conflict with general law," also "to furnish all local public services; to purchase, hire, construct, own, maintain and operate or lease local public utilities," "to make local public improvement and to acquire by condemnation or otherwise property—also to acquire an excess over that needed for any such excess property with restrictions, in order to protect and preserve the improvement; to issue and sell bonds on the security of any such excess property or of any public utility owned

by the city, or of the revenues thereof, or both, including, in the case of a public utility, a franchise stating the terms upon which, in case of foreclosure, the purchaser may operate such utility."

If adopted by popular vote this amendment will take effect January, 1921.

Vermont gave its cities and villages the right to engage in the coal, wood or ice business.

A good home rule constitutional amendment for cities was favorably reported in the New York Assembly with the backing of civic organizations and the conference of mayors. The bill seemed certain of passage and the Citizens Union charges that it was defeated by legislative trickery and manipulation.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

In a frank bid for the alliance of labor the non-partisan farmers of North Dakota have enacted a workmen's compensation act which, like most such acts, does not apply to farm hands or domestic servants. Miners are protected and an eight-hour day established for them. A public welfare commission is created and empowered to fix minimum wages for women in industry, and eight hours is made their maximum work-day. Indiana created a free state employment service.

Illinois reduced the hours of working women from ten per day to nine, with a maximum of forty-eight per week.

A minimum wage law was passed in Texas, for women and minors, to be administered by a minimum wage commission which shall directly determine the minimum wage in each community. Such laws usually go by industries, this one apparently goes by localities, which seems a more natural method since the rational base is the cost of living.

A bold program of social service measures failed in New York despite the backing of Governor Smith. The program included health insurance, a minimum wage for women and an eight-hour day for women, drafted hopefully and carefully by competent labor legislation authorities. The bills passed the senate and failed in the assembly because of up-state conservatism.

An interesting little bill passed in Texas appropriates $12,000 for a house-to-house survey of one or more counties by the state health officer to obtain exact data as to preventable diseases.

An important effort to improve rural education in California called for making the county the school unit except in cities, in the belief that the larger unit would be more expert and flexible than the local bodies. A constitutional amendment to make the state superintendent of public instruction appointive by the state board of education, instead of elective, was also proposed.

A constitutional amendment in New York, which must wait till 1921 for repassage and popular approval, provides that no person shall be entitled to vote by attaining majority, by naturalization or otherwise, unless able to read or write English. An appropriation of $100,000 was made to enable the commissioner of education to promote and extend facilities for educating illiterate and non-English speaking adults. In 1910 New York, by the federal census, had 406,000 illiterates and 600,000 residents who did not speak English.

An elaborate reorganization and modernization of the city criminal

court of Detroit, subject to ratification by the people of the city, was passed by the Michigan legislature after a bitter struggle.

PUBLIC WORKS

Large public works are in prospect in several states. Illinois will build a canal from Lockport to Utica, completing an important connection between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river. New Jersey will build a great bridge from Camden to Philadelphia in cooperation with Pennsylvania, and will join New York in the construction of a tunnel street under the Hudson from Jersey City to Manhattan.

New York's appropriations for various public works exceed $25,000,000.

California votes on a $40,000,000 bond issue for highways on July 1.

Pennsylvania put into effect its constitutional amendment authorizing a $50,000,000 loan for good roads.

MISCELLANEOUS

A curio in the North Dakota list is the provision for one official newspaper in each county instead of three, this paper to be elected each year at the polls! The official paper thus chosen will receive all the public advertising. Considerable saving is expected, but the chief purpose is to destroy the newspaper patronage which influences and corrupts the rural press here as in many other states for the political benefit of county politicians. The method of escape is odd and may have some odd results, but the cure aimed at is fundamental to democracy and if successful may change the whole political atmosphere for the better.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

ROBERT W. SPEER: A CITY BUILDER. By Edgar C. MacMechen, Editor-in-Chief. Published by authority of the Council of the City and County of Denver. 79 pp.

To commemorate the civic achievements of Robert W. Speer, thrice mayor of Denver, and by any test an outstanding figure in municipal affairs, this book has been issued. The joint work of the editor-in-chief, the mayor, city attorney and four department managers of Denver, it provides a valuable record of Mayor Speer's activities for the beautification of Denver, the improvement of the city's affairs, and the betterment of its citizens. The book possesses genuine interest, for whatever may be thought of him by his friends or enemies, Robert W. Speer, probably as much as anyone might, earned the title of "Denver's master builder."

His biographers justifiably present Mayor Speer as a close student of civic subjects from his first display of genius for political leadership while still in his twenties. He was a practical politician, working in harmony with his party, and even professing a distrust of the sincerity of avowed reformers. His appointments to office were made for political reasons; but from his appointees he demanded faithful, efficient service, with the alternative of their resignation or discharge. He was essentially a man of action. Many of his projects required months of development in his own mind, a period during which he formed and reformed in all details a plan embodying his ideas; but when once his plan was ready for presentation, he had a reason for every suggestion, an answer to every objection, and a determination to carry out the plan in the shortest possible time. A typical instance of his penchant for action is related in connection with his program for civic improvements during his first term as mayor. His city attorney having been denied by the supreme court a motion to advance for trial twenty-seven law suits, an accumulation of years, that were delaying the progress of Mayor Speer's projects, he secured a monster citizens' petition requesting the court to advance these cases in the interest of Denver. The petition had a humorous but instantaneous effect. The court refused to allow the petition to be filed, but asked the city attorney to renew his motion. This being done, the cases were promptly decided and the development of the city greatly advanced.

Mayor Speer's knowledge of municipal affairs was enriched in a very practical way by his familiarity with the municipal machinery of Denver, a familiarity gained not only through his interest in politics, but also by his early experience in office. Elected city clerk in 1884, at the age of twenty-eight, he served also as postmaster of Denver, minority member of the fire and police board (where despite his status he dominated the affairs of the board and laid the foundations of the future powerful Democratic machine), police commissioner, fire commissioner, and president of the board of public works. Concurrent with much of his office-holding, he engaged in the real estate business.

This, briefly, is the equipment re-enforcing Mayor Speer's efforts for the artistic, social, and utilitarian improvement of Denver, of which the present book is largely a record—such a record as leads his biographers to declare:

> He demonstrated fully the value to a city of a specialist, trained in the affairs of city government. He was the forerunner of a type that eventually will serve the public in an official capacity. It is even now in course of evolution through the adoption of the manager form of government. Neither the rank opportunist, nor the highly trained business man, as a general rule, is competent to step into the mayoralty office of a great city and successfully manage the people's affairs. The one does not know enough about ordinary business conditions; the other often has affiliations too closely connected with big interests to serve the people disinterestedly.

It is in the light of this pronouncement that the student of municipal government will find his chief interest in tracing this record of Mayor Speer's marked impress upon the character and history of Denver.

Robert W. Speer was elected mayor of Denver in 1904, upon the adoption of a new city charter. Thereupon began what the editors of this biography call, "the eight golden years of Denver's

development." Beautification was the keynote of this period. The appearance of the city was changed, streets were graded and paved, bridges built, overhead wires buried, shade trees increased, the parks expanded, and a boulevard and parkway system created. Also an extensive system of sewers was laid; and on the social side, the parks were popularized, and a great municipal auditorium erected, in which was instituted unprecedented free municipal entertainment. Playgrounds, an imposing civic center, and municipal golf links were other achievements. Antedating the movement for scientific city planning, Mayor Speer replanned Denver, and carried out the plan. From an overgrown country town, it sprang to the eminence of a metropolis. To accomplish this tremendous task in so short a span, Mayor Speer exerted all his energies. He worked day and night, and, we are told, read municipal works, official reports, statements and specifications to the exclusion of all other forms of literature. This, however, is comparatively the superficial side of his labor. We have to imagine the vision of the man, his clearness of purpose, his tenacity against all opposition, and his will to get things done.

The critical chapter of the book, dealing with Mayor Speer's failure as a newspaper editor, his political battles with Senator Patterson, his defeat in the senatorial campaign of 1911, and the breaking up of his political machine, is, as we should expect, a partisan account. For the most part it is a bare summary of events. The struggles with Senator Patterson and the candidacy of Mayor Speer for the United States senatorship are dismissed in thirty-five lines. The wrecking of his political machine and the defeat of his candidate to succeed himself in 1912 occupy only a page. We are told only that his enemies used the argument of high taxes to encompass the defeat of the Speer candidate, though in a later chapter the charge that Mayor Speer profited largely in real estate deals through his advance knowledge of city improvements is answered by the statement that upon his death his estate was valued at only $45,000. Fuller details of these events, even if they gave only the Speer point of view, would have increased the value of the book.

In the interim between Mayor Speer's second and third terms a very interesting chapter of Denver's history was written. This, justifiably, is treated briefly in his biography. His successor in 1912, Mayor Arnold, proved a weak official and was deposed in the following year by a change in the city charter creating a commission government. This experiment was unsuccessful for reasons not reflecting on the merits of this form of government,[1] and led to the agitation for a further amendment in 1916. With two rival amendments proposed for submission to the voters, ex-Mayor Speer entered the field with a third. It was a remarkable document, centering practically all executive powers in the mayor, creating a city council of nine members, designating Speer as mayor, and giving him power to appoint four members of the council. To the amazement of many, the amendment was adopted.

True to his election promises, Mayor Speer made non-partisanship and economy largely the keynotes of his third term. Two of his four department managers were Republicans, as were many lesser appointees, and in the first two months $85,000 was saved by abolishing positions and consolidating minor departments. Coming back to office after extended travel and study, with a broader, riper mind, he also placed greater emphasis on social welfare. The civic center project was carried to final completion, an $85,000 organ—paid for by private subscription—was installed in the municipal auditorium, the state was forced to assume care of the insane from the county hospital, a municipal coal department[2] and a municipal bakery were instituted, the notorious oil stock frauds were driven out of the city, and the office of city chaplain was created. At the height of his activity Mayor Speer developed pneumonia and died on May 17, 1918.

The biography which his coworkers have provided presents sympathetically the achievements of the man who did for Denver in a decade what would ordinarily require a generation. It fittingly commemorates Robert W. Speer's genius as a politician, financial director, builder, artist, and man. RUSSELL RAMSEY.

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WHAT OF THE CITY? By Walter D. Moody. Chicago: A. C. McClure & Co., 1919.

Mr. Moody has written a valuable book setting forth what he terms America's greatest problem—what constitutes real city planning, and how to go about it to insure success. Because of his position as managing director of the

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 471.
[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. VII, p. 97.

Chicago plan commission, and the notable work accomplished by that body, Mr. Moody has drawn largely on Chicago materials for the structure of his book—but by no means exclusively, for the book has a delightful breadth of vision; and, while the style is popular, the material is reduced to principles which will be of the utmost help in stimulating city planners generally and in making clear the relation and obligation of private citizens to city planning movements.

The first impression of the book is its practical and authoritative nature, for, as Mr. Moody admits, he obtained his training as a city planner —or, as he puts it, a promoter of city plans— largely in the school of experience. Mr. Moody throws no mystery around the task of city planning. Rather he dispels it, and makes it what he calls "a simple, common-sense procedure to make conditions more livable for the dwellers in cities." He puts the emphasis on starting right. Cities grow so rapidly that things get out of hand, and the problem to understand in the beginning is the factors to be dealt with, the expansion to be anticipated, and the requirements for providing for it. He makes the very vital distinction between *city* planning—that is, working with all the factors of the city in mind—and planning for only one or a few of these factors, such as widening streets, making parks, etc. The latter method, which he aptly calls city unplanning, is the cause for the failure of many movements conceived as city planning.

Separate chapters are devoted to the growth, needs, and dangers of American cities; the way to go about city planning; the elements to be harnessed; publicity; misapplied energy; inspiration and influence; and related aspects of the subject. An interesting chapter is also devoted to the plan of Chicago, which serves admirably to make many of the author's suggestions concrete. Appreciation is due the author for having provided an index.

Mr. Moody well points out that the control of the nation is passing into the hands of the cities, and that a sound national fibre demands the creation of municipal instincts for good order, cleanliness, honesty, and economy. This is a noble and proper stimulus for city planning movements, and for their spread throughout the country. For the inspiration and guidance of those who promote such movements, as well as for those who do the planning, Mr. Moody has provided a veritable handbook.

THE MOVEMENT FOR BUDGETARY REFORM IN THE STATES. By William Franklin Willoughby, Director, Institute for Government Research. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1918. 254 p.

Book jackets were at first designed, it is supposed, to protect the original binding until the volume gets into the hands of the "ultimate consumer." Nowadays they serve a variety of other purposes, among them that of giving busy reviewers a short-cut to the contents of the volume and ready made opinions of its merits. Publishers seldom object to the reviewers using these convenient little paragraphs either with or without quotation marks.

The jacket summary of Dr. Willoughby's volume is so adequate and so accurate that the present reviewer, though he has read the book, is constrained to quote it in full.

"During the past four or five years the movement for budgetary reform in the administration of the individual states has spread with surprising rapidity, and remarkable progress has already been achieved. Although much remains to be accomplished before even one state finds an ideal way of administering its finances, the time is ripe for a survey of what has been done up to the present, in order that this pioneer action may bear its full fruit. This book makes, in completest detail, such a survey. It gives a full account of the action that has been taken by all the states of the Union looking toward the introduction of a budgetary system and reproduces in full all legislation having this purpose in view.

"In the first chapters the nature of the problem of budgetary reform is discussed; the conditions confronting the states and their efforts to work the problem out are shown. The main body of the volume is concerned with a detailed description of the budgetary legislation of the different states, in which the author shows just what principles controlled the enactments in each case, and how far these fulfill the requirements of an ideal budgetary system."

The words to be underscored are "detailed description of budgetary legislation in the different states," for undoubtedly the chief value of the work lies in the brief summaries of the present budget laws and of events leading up to their enactment, accompanied by the full text of the acts in some twenty-five states. The comparative analyses and general summary are also useful, but one gets an impression of a kind of unreality about the whole work, arising

apparently from the fact that the author is discussing projects of law rather than experience in administration of the laws. Very little is said about the way these budget systems are working. Perhaps it is too soon for anybody to say how they work. Certainly that would be a much more difficult piece of research. But is not that just what the public and legislators now want? The first of the budgetary laws treated was enacted in 1911, the bulk of them falling in 1915 and 1917. Only one 1918 statute, that of Virginia, it may be noted, is included though at least four states enacted important measures in 1918.

If it could be gathered up, there must even now be a considerable body of most illuminating experience which would be far more useful to legislators than *a priori* principles or the texts of a few more ideal budget laws.

Dr. Willoughby very sanely advocates the so-called executive budget and points out though briefly the administrative and practical reasons for this form of financial procedure. Fortunately he does not allow himself to be drawn off the trail by the theoretical question of whether the governor or the legislator represents the people, in other words, whether the formulation of budget proposals by or under the supervision of the governor is undemocratic. Evidently the state legislators have not been much alarmed by the autocratic possibilities of the executive budget for many states have made the governor the chief budget officer. What we want now is a thorough comparative study of the way the executive budget is working.

C. C. W.

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Principles of Government Purchasing. By Arthur G. Thomas. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Pp. 275.

The purchasing departments of governments often come in for adverse and partisan criticism, but few have attempted to deal with the subject scientifically and constructively, and for that reason, Mr. Thomas' book is well worth reading. He has arranged his book in two parts. In the first and shorter part he outlines the problems to be met and the qualifications which should be possessed by a purchasing agent. In the second part he shows how to meet these problems and the effects of the various methods suggested, and he does not hesitate to draw illustrations from both governmental and private purchasers.

Mr. Thomas points out that the lot of a governmental purchasing agent should be easier than that of a private purchasing agent because while private business may come and go, the government goes on forever and in much the same manner. But the governmental purchasing agent is usually restricted by laws which were often framed to meet different conditions than those facing him and to avoid the possibility of favoritism; and these laws not infrequently hinder him from rendering his department more efficient. Of course legal restrictions, such as forbidding an official or employe from participating in a contract, are necessary, but thus minutely describing the administration of the office often works harm and sometimes defeats its own end, while the centralization of purchasing with its consequent aid to publicity will help to prevent graft.

In dealing with the centralization of purchasing, it is pointed out that a standardization of articles and grades can thus be obtained; that the competition of desirable bidders, who would not care to deal with so many departments, is secured; that lower prices are quoted and that there is an incentive for vendors to render good service; that the number of those employed in the work is reduced. And if inspection is also centralized, the latter is true of that service, and uniformity of inspection is secured. Even where it is legally necessary that the various departments issue the purchase orders, it would be advantageous to have a central agency enter into price agreements with vendors. Private purchasers sometimes enter into agreements without stating any definite quantity or price. At the same time he warns us against too great centralization.

One advantage that a private purchaser usually has over the government purchaser is that the government usually asks for bids on a specific article, whereas there may be several articles that will fill the need and the private purchaser can secure competition on articles as well as price. Mr. Thomas points out that while your specifications should be definite, so that you are sure to get what you want and assure the trade that you know what you want, undue detail will often discourage competition. The desirability of asking bids on classes of articles, instead of specific articles is also discussed.

To secure wide competition, the invitations must be advertised and Mr. Thomas discusses the various forms of advertising. He doubts

whether formal advertisements, especially in official papers, bring the invitations to the attention of the largest number of desirable competitors. Bulletin board publicity is quite successful for certain classes of articles, especially among local dealers; and individual, informal notice also has its merits.

Something which is usually considered a duty of the auditing department and not of the purchasing department, especially in governments, is the payment of bills; since if bills are not paid promptly the purchaser loses caste, it should be the duty of the purchasing department to check the bills (and they are best able to do so, as regards prices) and see that they are paid promptly. He discusses several methods of checking bills and ascertaining whether the goods have been received.

Mr. Thomas has handled his subject skilfully and has made a contribution to the subject of a character which it sorely needs.

HENRY E. PEARSON.[1]

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THE FINANCING OF PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS. By Milton B. Ignatius, LL.M. The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1918. Pp. xviii and 508.

The aim of this book, as stated in its preface, is "to offer in this one volume a comprehensive discussion of all the important aspects of public service corporation financing, from the inception of the enterprise and the issue of certificates of interest or indebtedness, to the expenditure of the proceeds and the permanent record thereof."

Instead of accepting the author's division of his treatise into four parts, the reader is apt to see two main divisions: (1) Corporation finance; and (2) The limitations and restrictions placed by public regulation upon the financing of public service corporations, together with some discussion of subjects corollary thereto. Except for a short chapter (II) on public service corporations and commissions, the first 266 pages deal with corporation finance in general. Here the author has performed a useful task in bringing together definitions relevant to his subject. Most of the contents of the succeeding 190 pages deal with the regulation of finances of public service corporations, though even in this section much of what the author says (*e.g.*, a considerable part of the chapter on intercorporate relationships) would read well in a general treatise on corporation finance.

As preparation for handling the subjects discussed on pages 267–456, the author's experience in statistical and accounting work with both of the public service commissions of New York state gave him intimate acquaintance with their policies and with regulatory practice in that state. On the other hand he (admittedly) confines his attention almost exclusively to these two commissions. The reader wonders at times how their policies and practices differ from those of other regulatory bodies and wishes that the content of the first 266 pages of the book might have been abridged, if necessary, in order that more space and attention could have been given to these other regulatory bodies.

Though trained in law, the author has consciously avoided legalistic terminology and has, for the most part, adopted a style which should attract the general reader interested in the subjects discussed. Typographically, the book is admirably arranged and the serious errors in proof-reading are not sufficiently numerous to mar the reader's opinion of the book.

The author would agree that the army of investors in the securities of public service corporations who are seeking a solution of their present difficulties will not find in this book complete answers to all of their questions. But both such investors and others interested in this subject and in corporate finance in general will find the book worth reading and worth placing among other valuable reference books.

H. E. HOAGLAND.

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HOUSING PROBLEMS IN AMERICA. Proceedings of the Seventh National Conference on Housing. New York: National Housing Association, 1918. 469 pp.

The present volume of conference papers is a contribution of permanent value to the solution of the housing problem, and is marked by the notable list of authorities who compose its authorship.

The dominant note of the book is government housing in some form—federal, state, or municipal. A large proportion of the papers touch more or less directly on the subject, and apparently with unanimity, as a necessary factor in working out the complicated task of providing sufficient housing to redeem the deficiencies of the war period. This viewpoint is taken very

[1] Bureau of Municipal Research, Philadelphia.

emphatically and earnestly in the first paper—that on housing and social reconstruction, by Thomas Adams—and is reiterated in Dr. George E. Vincent's paper on housing and reconstruction. These are followed by a group of six papers directly on the subject, in which Joseph D. Leland and others describe the housing accomplishments of the federal government during the war. Notable among these is Frederick L. Ackerman's argument for government co-operation in providing adequate habitations for its citizens. He makes very clear his position that such an act cannot be considered paternalistic in a democracy where the elemental philosophy upon which "collective provision" is based appeals strongly to the average man who has come to recognize his impotence in acting alone.

Rent profiteering is dealt with in two chapters by Dr. James Ford and John C. Ellis. Many cases of rent profiteering are cited in which adjustment was accomplished; but these relate chiefly to government mediation for the benefit of war industry laborers. On the whole, the authors are more successful in telling what rent profiteering is, and in describing its effects, than in suggesting remedies of general application.

Other groups of papers relate to the effect of good housing on labor; problems of management; and the perennial slum problem.

One of the most striking chapters in the book is that of Lawson Purdy, "Own Your Own Town," in which he presents a plan for common ownership of all the land in new industrial towns, with the idea that the occupiers and owners of the houses shall get the benefit of such unearned increment as may develop, no land being sold, but all to be on a leasehold basis. This is the modified single-tax plan which is being advanced by "The Committee on New Industrial Towns."

POOL, BILLIARDS AND BOWLING ALLEYS IN TOLEDO. By John J. Phelan. Toledo: Little Book Press, 1919.

This book performs a distinct service in helping the reader to understand the problem of commercialized amusements in cities. It is a practical and thorough study of the problem as it relates to pool, billiards and bowling in Toledo, and shows the evidence of first-hand investigation and classification of data. This has been the method of the author, with the purpose of helping to remedy a condition which must be controlled, since it cannot be abolished. Mr. Phelan spent ten months in gathering data as to the number, location, character and financial value of the pool and billiard rooms and bowling alleys of Toledo, during which time he gathered facts relating to the attendance, sanitation, ventilation, lighting, screens and blinds, toilets, violations of the law, gambling and "treats," arrests, connection with saloons, moral atmosphere, etc. The results of this work are carefully set forth, and in many instances illustrated with graphs and charts.

A valuable phase of the survey was a questionnaire submitted to high school boys and answered by 445 of them. The result shows that 75 per cent of high school boys play in pool rooms and bowling alleys, and provides many startling side-lights on the moral influences encountered. Forty-three per cent of the boys answering the questionnaire suggested remedies for evils recognized, ranging from the abolition of all such places of amusement to an investigation of where boys get their spending money.

The book contains a number of valuable appendices, including a digest of state laws and city ordinances dealing with commercialized amusements in Ohio.

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NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Financing the Cities of Ohio.—The financial hopelessness of Ohio cities and school districts seems inescapable. On the one hand the state by legislation has assumed a benevolent guardianship over all taxing programs. The so-called Smith one per cent law,[1] now eight years old, prevents taxing districts from raising and spending more than ten mills on the dollar. It was assumed by various taxing districts that this limitation applied only to maintenance charges until the supreme court ruled in 1917 that it covered sinking fund charges as well. On the other hand, costs of government have gone up, the cities particularly are undertaking more public functions, and the demand for "improvements" is insistent. For years bonds have been issued to take care of improvements and to make up deficiencies in operating expenses. The result is that sinking fund charges are now paid out of funds formerly available for maintenance. Meanwhile per capita receipts from liquor licenses gradually decreased, and since May 24, 1919, have been entirely cut off. It must also be remembered that Ohio still retains the constitutional "uniform tax" requirements and most Ohio wealth escapes taxation by the usual methods of evasion. It should be apparent without argument that the constant increase of fixed interest fund charges swallow a larger and larger part of the ten mills. Either new sources of revenue must be tapped or the duplicate immensely increased if the one per cent law is to control. The only other alternative is to spend less money.

For several years both parties have promised the cities and the schools financial relief. Last fall the classification amendment[2] was ratified by the voters and it was expected that the legislature would find an opportunity of uncovering new wealth for taxing purposes. Unfortunately the supreme court held the amendment invalid because it conflicted with another tax amendment ratified at the same election by a larger vote. This decision was a heavy blow to the cities and schools.

After long consideration the cities produced a financial program consisting of two parts:

1. A resubmission of the classification amendment at a special election.

2. An emergency law giving cities the right to vote at the same election to refund all outstanding deficiency bonds and to levy a special rate for five years (above the 1 per cent limitation) which would write off existing deficits.

With classification in operation it was assumed that taxes on incomes, inheritances, stocks, bonds and money on deposit would follow and the duplicate thus increased sufficiently to take care of future increases in expenditure.

Both parts of this program passed the legislature although the opposition was strong enough to prevent the special election feature on the amendment from carrying. Opponents then carried their case to the governor, insisting that the principle of the Smith law be maintained and the "home owner" saved from the heavy burden which such an emergency law would entail.

After the legislature had recessed in April the governor vetoed the emergency bill. Upon reconvening on May 6, the Republicans attempted to pass the measure over Governor Cox's veto. This they failed to do. Thereupon a new bill identical with the vetoed measure, except that the date for such local elections was set for next November, was introduced and passed. This second emergency bill was also vetoed. In sending his veto to the legislature Governor Cox concluded his message with the following words: "I still contend that assistance can be given to local subdivisions of government promptly and efficiently without increasing the tax rate, and that it ought to be done." Thus the cities are still where they were in January—with deficiencies for 1919 staring them in the face.

A word on the politics of this Ohio incident may be interesting. Banking interests were active in backing up the city and school demands. Real estate and down-town building interests joined with the farmers in attacking the emergency bill. These latter groups demanded income and inheritance taxes to meet the situa-

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 371.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. viii, p. 94.

tion and stood by the Smith law principle. They split however on the classification idea, and the farmers fought the submission of the amendment bitterly. On the other hand the banking interests did not want income and inheritance tax laws passed before classification was made a part of the constitution, alleging that they would drive taxable wealth out of the state and thus decrease the amount of the duplicate. The only possible relief that may be expected from the legislature is a program of income and inheritance taxation—the plan insisted upon from the first by the opponents of the "emergency advocates."

C. A. Dykstra.

An interesting side-light on the financial dilemma facing Ohio cities, concisely described above by Mr. Dykstra, is furnished in a letter received from another correspondent, who writes that the motive for Governor Cox's veto of the emergency bill was political, the farmers being opposed to any change in the tax limitations law, though the cities cannot live under the present limitation because of the changed value of the dollar. At the same time the governor's veto is commended because the bill merely temporized with a bad condition, the proper remedy lying in the outright repeal of the limitations law. The latter violates the principle of home rule in taxation, and fixes an arbitrary rate upon the widely different localities of the state, although the general property tax of the municipalities does not conflict with the state's sources of revenue.

Governor Cox is also criticised by the Republican legislative leaders, who charge him with bad faith because of an alleged promise to approve the bill when it was discussed with him before its submission to the legislature, and is also accused of trying to force a state income tax law.

Dr. Cleveland's Survey of Cincinnati's Finances.—A preliminary survey of the municipal finances of Cincinnati, recently completed by Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, the Boston financial expert, at the request of an economy commission appointed by Mayor Garvin, showed that owing to the stringent economy already forced upon the city by the state tax limitation law, little more could be expected in this direction. A more thorough survey to discover possible economies was, therefore, felt to be unwarranted, especially in view of the fact that the other phase of the city's financial plan—the necessity for finding additional revenue to the amount of two million dollars, regardless of the existing million dollar deficit—is much more serious.

Dr. Cleveland enumerates the outstanding conditions in the city as follows:

1. An almost static population, increasing less than 15 per cent in ten years.
2. Interest and sinking fund charges absorbing about 40 per cent of the city's part of the tax levy, with the city debt continuing to increase.
3. The maximum tax rates authorized by the legislature already reached, with property assessments at 100 per cent or more.
4. Expenditures in excess of revenue.
5. Current expenses paid with borrowed money.
6. A loss of $300,000 in liquor taxes due to the state law, and a projection loss of $600,000 when national prohibition becomes effective.
7. The loss, or threatened loss, of large community resources because of industrial charges.
8. An unfavorable economic situation for further development of community resources, based on an acute lack of railroad terminal facilities, a disposition of local investors to neglect local enterprises, and general failure to promote movements for making Cincinnati attractive to new industries and business undertakings.

Perhaps the more significant part of Dr. Cleveland's report was his outspoken, but well-tempered, indictment of the general civic mind of the city—the lack of civic spirit on the part of the citizens and the absence of effective leadership. Dr. Cleveland says that Cincinnatians have not developed a "group consciousness, a sense of community interest which is superior to personal advantage and which finds expression in organized means for finding out what is for the best interest of the city as a whole before citizens are asked to back anything, or public authorities are appealed to for powers and the funds to make these conclusions real.

"No community or other joint enterprise can grow and prosper without leadership, and its success must depend upon the ability of its leaders and the unanimity of support given by those who may be depended upon as followers."

"Unless Cincinnati develops within its citizenship a means for bringing out leadership, and getting back of leadership with a following in

each of the chief fields of community endeavor, business and social welfare, it would seem citizens may well feel deeply concerned."

✻

Garbage Handling Profitable.—In a report to Mayor Charles W. Jewett the board of sanitary commissioners of Indianapolis, Ind., points out that in the last seven months the total net income from the municipal garbage reduction plant, which was taken over by the commissioners May 25, 1917, has been $14,896.99. The report shows, according to the *Municipal Journal*, that for the last seven months the total operating revenue was $87,427.23, made up as follows: Grease production, $63,665.63; garbage tankage, $19,502.17; hides, $4,259.43. The operating expenses totaled $50,327.20 as follows: Plant operating expense, $36,370.69; collecting department expense, $7,090.26; purchase of waste meat and grease, $1,354.94. Deduction of the total operating expense from the total income, the report shows, gives a gross income of $37,100.03. From this $17,500 is deducted for the depreciation fund and $4,703.13 is deducted for interest on bonds, leaving the net income of $14,896.90. The reduction plant was bought for $175,000 from the Indianapolis Reduction Company, which had the contract for garbage collection for a number of years. The commissioners say in their report that at the rate of profit for the last seven months the plant will pay for itself in five years and that the net profit represents a return of 8.5 per cent on the original investment of $175,000. The commissioners also say that a saving of approximately $37,000 a year has been effected in the collection of garbage, which is taken care of by the board of public works, as the total cost of collection in the seven months has been $29,765.81, or at the rate of approximately $51,000 a year, while the only bid for the collection of garbage was $87,900. Thus, the commissioners point out, a great saving has been made on collection costs and at the same time a substantial profit is being obtained from the operation of the plant itself. In explanation of the item of expense listed as "collecting department expense, $7,090.26," Frank C. Lingenfelter, president of the board of sanitary commissioners, said this represented what the sanitary board had paid for feed and care of teams. The major part of the collection cost is in wages, Mr. Lingenfelter said, and that expense is borne by the board of works, the board of works thus far having paid out $29,765.81 for this work.

✻

Government Support of Capital Cities.—What does a national government owe to its capital city in the way of support of the municipal functions, such as fire protection, water service, etc., of which the national government is a beneficiary? This question is raised by the approaching expiration of the agreement between the Canadian government and the city of Ottawa, under which the former paid $100,000 annually to the Ottawa improvement commission for park purposes, and $15,000 for fire protection. In return the city supplies ordinary municipal services to all government buildings and exempts the salaries of government employees from taxation. Mayor Fisher of Ottawa contends that in the new agreement the Dominion government should undertake to pay its equitable share of the expenses incurred by the municipality in carrying on municipal government, and, in addition, contribute such sums as are necessary to make a capital city worthy of the nation. Such an arrangement, it is estimated, would in 1918 have netted the city $886,453, instead of $115,000. The proposition that government buildings should pay taxes is not new. The British government has for many years paid rates on the house of parliament and other government property situated in London. At Dublin the government contributes annually an amount equal to what it would pay if its property were rated like other property, and in addition maintains the police force. In the United States the government pays one-half of all the cost of administration of the District of Columbia. In 1917 the amount paid by the federal government was $6,313,903.00. Of this sum $3,147,367.00 was paid for educational purposes.

✻

Functions of a Municipal Factory Site Commission.—Suggestions for the program of a municipal factory site commission characterize a recent statement issued by President Aloe of the St. Louis board of aldermen. In these days of keen competition among cities for new industries, something of this character is necessary, according to President Aloe. A municipal factory site commission should not leave the function of swelling the city's industry entirely to the organized business men of the city. It

should be a civic function—a part of the city's work as a public institution. The city should create a new industrial district in accordance with a plan formulated by a city plan commission and should purchase and own this tract of land, thus eliminating speculative profit. The district should be conveniently located and divided into lots suitable for industrial purposes, with sewers, paved streets, electric power, telephone wires, switching facilities and street car communication, the lots to be for sale at a nominal price, or to be given free under certain conditions. Under these conditions the city manufacturers seeking location will give much more serious consideration to a city offering these facilities. That the money expended will be paid back in pay-rolls for the benefit of the city in general, is a proposition none can deny. The time has come according to President Aloe, when general business must be an object and concern of the municipality, and the aid, encouragement and fostering of great private industries should be a big part of the city's work.

✠

Hail Insurance Amendment in Saskatchewan.—The province of Saskatchewan has had a municipal hail insurance law since 1913 under which a provincial body composed of one representative from each municipality desiring to co-operate assesses an annual tax not to exceed four cents per acre, thus providing a fund from which are paid losses incurred from damage by hail. The tax is levied without regard to whether the land is under cultivation, but certain classes of land are exempt. In 1913, 1914, and 1915 the maximum tax was sufficient to pay all losses; but in 1916, due to disastrous storms, only 40 per cent of the claims could be met, claims being paid pro rata as provided by law for such a contingency. Again in 1918 the fund was sufficient to pay only 80 per cent of the losses from hail. That farmers thus had no assurance of the amount of indemnity they might receive proved to be the weakness of the law. Owing to the general dissatisfaction the provincial legislature amended the law to permit an additional rate per acre to be levied upon all lands of an owner under cultivation in excess of forty acres. This it is expected will be sufficient to meet the losses in any year up to five dollars per acre in case of total loss.

✠

Civil Service Reform in Washington and Oregon.—The Washington legislature has defeated a bill prepared by the civil service reform association of that state which was intended to regulate the civil service of the state, counties and cities, except those of the first class. The association is now planning to indicate a civil service constitutional amendment for the next general election, and is helping in the revision of the rules under which the Tacoma civil service commission will operate.

A state civil service bill has also just been defeated by the Oregon legislature, and in that state, likewise, this will be followed by a campaign for a constitutional amendment under the direction of the committee for civil service legislation. While the civil service bill was before the legislature an investigation was made of the probation officer appointments that are the fruit of the present patronage system. The following were discovered as "child welfare workers": One steamship purser, one foundryman, one deputy sheriff, one private detective, one boiler maker, one ex-actor, one department store detective, one bartender and prize fighter, one cigar dealer, three professional politicians, one of whom has been dismissed from his position for having taken bail money twice, one real estate man, one Reed college man who was inexperienced, one school teacher, one lawyer, one printer who was a very good printer, one trained nurse who was later discharged to make room for a seamstress, four housewives, seven stenographers, one restaurant worker who was removed because her efficiency was in such marked contrast to that of other employes.

✠

Nevada Reclamation and Settlement Act to Provide Homes for Soldiers.—The Nevada law authorizing a bond issue of $1,000,000 to provide rural homes for soldiers, sailors, marines, and others who have served in action with the army or navy, constitutes a reclamation and settlement board composed of the governor, state engineer, and three others, to determine the practicability of all projects undertaken and to co-operate with the federal government and others in similiar movements. The board may undertake any work of farm improvement, farm equipment, subdivision of land, supervision of settlement, selection of settlers, agricultural training, supervision of loans, and the general operation and maintenance of the plan. It may establish regulations for the sale of rural home sites to those whom the law is intended to benefit, and is required to obtain suitable security by

lien, contract, or otherwise, for money spent in reclamation improvements under the provisions of the act. Land purchased in accordance with these provisions is subject to state, county and local taxation; but if the contracting purchaser fails to pay taxes on assessments due, they may be paid by the board and charged to the purchaser with 10 per cent interest. Purchasing contractors are subject to forfeiture of their land for nonpayment as the board may regulate.

✻

Nebraska's Constitutional Convention.—Nebraska is to have a constitutional convention. The election of one hundred delegates will be held on November 4, elected on the same basis as state representatives. The present constitution was written in 1875, a year of drought and grasshoppers, with one third of the population deserting the state. The present constitution is long, usurping many legislative functions and making it possible to nullify laws rather promiscuously. Corporations of 1875 were foreseeing and got what they wanted. This year a constitutional convention league has been inaugurated, representing the farmers union, the state grange, the equity society, the Nebraska federation of labor, the nonpartisan league, and a number of persons who do not belong to any of these organizations, but who are interested in having progressive men elected to the convention. The plan is to call a progressive conference in each county for the purpose of uniting upon candidates to support at the polls. As the members of the convention will be elected on a nonpartisan ticket, it is possible for men of all parties to join in this movement.

✻

Zone System Adopted by Alameda, California.—Alameda, California, has adopted a zone law which, it is claimed, combines the best features of the Los Angeles, St. Louis, and New York ordinances, and is similar to the zone ordinance adopted in Palo Alto last year, and to the proposed Berkeley and Fresno ordinances. The Alameda ordinance applies to new building permits only, existing buildings and uses of property not being affected. Eight classes of use districts are established, two for residences, four for business and public uses, and two for industrial use.

✻

State Legislatures Seek to Borrow a Billion Dollars.—The accumulation of public work due to restrictions on borrowing and construction during the war has resulted in an unprecedented condition in state and municipal financial affairs. It is estimated that the amount involved in authoritized and contemplated state bond issues aggregates approximately $1,000,000,000. Most of this is to be spent for roads and highways, especially in the west and south, where the need for good roads in agricultural districts is particularly pressing. In California and Nevada $10,000,000 and $1,000,000 respectively are proposed to provide land for returning soldiers.

✻

Improvements Adopted in Indianapolis.—The Indianapolis bureau of governmental research calls attention to twenty recommendations adopted by the city as the result of a recent survey. Among these are the holding of a public hearing on the departmental estimates for 1919; an invitation to outside banks for bids on a temporary loan, resulting in a lower rate of interest; the disposition of old and unused city property through the city purchasing agent; advance estimates of monthly departmental needs for the benefit of the city purchasing agent; the collection of ashes by the city instead of by contract; and the reorganization of the police department.

✻

Housing Reform in England.—The administration of the English housing scheme will be entrusted to a chief commissioner in London and eight district commissioners of housing throughout England and Wales. These will be men of wide knowledge and experience in housing, and they will have important discretionary powers, as well as adequate technical staffs at their disposal.

A manual will shortly be issued by the local government board for use by local authorities and others as a guide to them on how to proceed with the proposed schemes. Practically all the essential house fittings are being standardized, including doors, windows, kitchen ranges, baths, bolts, locks, door handles, and general fittings, designs of which have been prepared and samples chosen.

The board, acting in conjunction with the London county council, is making arrangements for the erection in London of a village of model houses. Each house will be a complete model for the guidance of local authorities throughout

the country as regards architecture, style, and internal arrangements. The houses will be erected from the plans which won the premiums in the recent competition instituted by the Royal Institute of British Architects.

The general policy adopted by the board will be on lines parallel to the Tudor-Walters report, and to the suggestions put forward by the National Housing and Town Planning Council. An important decision is that housing schemes will be approved by stages, and thus save a great amount of unnecessary work. The first stage will be concerned with the purchase of the land, the second with the layout of the site, the third with the designs and types of houses to be erected. It is reported that relief will be given for a period of years in respect to rates on new houses built under a certain value.

The preliminary work is already well under way in many municipalities.

State and Municipal Control of Venereal Diseases.—Every state in the union, with the exception of four, has complied with the requirements of the Chamberlain-Kahn act under which $1,000,000 was appropriated for venereal disease prevention work. This sum, divided among the states proportionally to their population, is available for use in states where, by legislative act or by state board of health regulation having the force of law, the stipulated measures have been adopted for the suppression of prostitution, the examination of arrested prostitutes and their proper, medical treatment, and for the reporting and compulsory treatment of venereal diseases. According to information received from the United States Public Health Service, which co-operates with state boards of health in carrying on the work, 206 cities in 41 states maintain 336 clinics and dispensaries where venereal diseases are treated free of charge.

II. POLITICS

Harrison Foundation for Studying Philadelphia's Civic Problems.—An interesting experiment in municipal research and in the checking up of city administration will be inaugurated in Philadelphia when the terms of the will of Thomas Skelton Harrison, formerly consul general to Egypt, are carried out. Mr. Harrison's will provides for a fund, estimated at about $500,000, to be administered for the investigation of municipal affairs and the maintenance of a high standard of honesty and efficiency in the performance of civic functions. Specifically the trustees of this fund are charged with the following duties:

To secure honest and impartial enforcement of the terms of all contracts made by the city of Philadelphia providing for the furnishing by contract of labor or for the erection of buildings, the construction of public improvements, the cleaning of streets, the removal of refuse, including the proper method of carting ashes and garbage, etc.; the furnishing of water, gas, electricity or transportation facilities or the performance of any other work, or the furnishing of any other supplies of any kind or nature for the said city.

To obtain the prompt prosecution of and just punishment of all persons guilty of violating contract with said city, or of peculations from the funds either directly or indirectly.

To investigate municipal affairs in the city of Philadelphia and obtain and disseminate information in relation thereto, to aid the officers of departments of the city by advice as to the methods of municipal work, to frame proper legislation in regard thereto and to aid in the inauguration or conduct of movements for municipal reform and generally for such purposes as will contribute toward the improvement of the governmental conditions in the city of Philadelphia.

To assist in any special movement in the investigaton of any department of the city, including frauds against the election laws and in any other public service that they may deem proper.

To further the immediate adoption by the city of Philadelphia of a wise, clear and accurate system of bookkeeping and accounting, including as a feature thereof the frequent publication of lucid statements as to the financial condition.

But it is my will that the funds at the disposal of said board shall never be used to further the interests of any political party or to secure the election of any officer of the municipal government or for any similar purpose.

The will provides for a board of seven trustees, one member being selected by each of the following institutions: Franklin institute, law association, college of physicians, city club of Philadelphia, board of trade, the university of Pennsylvania, and the board of city trusts.

The intent of such a bequest is so praiseworthy that one is tempted to withhold all critical comment. It would be unwise, however, to ignore the danger of serious overlapping unless the trustees of the fund interpret their trust broadly and in a spirit of intelligent co-op-

eration with existing agencies. There are, for example, in Philadelphia a highly efficient bureau of municipal research and a voluntary organization known as the committee of seventy which has long performed an invaluable public duty in enforcing the election laws and in prosecuting perpetrators of election frauds. These two organizations are already doing some of the work stipulated for the new Harrison foundation. The waste of duplicating this work is so obvious that the Harrison trustees may be expected to concentrate their efforts chiefly on such duties provided for them as are not already being discharged efficiently by others.

The wisdom of such a course is reinforced by the fact that the income from the Harrison fund will not be sufficient to support adequately all of the work indicated for the trustees. By proper co-ordination with other agencies, however, the Harrison foundation can be made an instrument of value to the city of Philadelphia.

*

Success of Commission Government in New Jersey Cities.—Observers of New Jersey politics who are interested in the progress of commission government in cities declare that the last municipal elections justify the claim that the commission form has made non-partisan elections possible. In Hoboken a Republican factor failed to turn the election on party politics. In Bayonne the water issue was the pivotal point. In Trenton also the voters refused to listen to party politicians, and, despite the fact that the city is Republican, re-elected the five commissioners, of whom three are Democrats. In the other elections involving commission government, namely, in Passaic, New Brunswick, Asbury Park, and Bradley Beach, fitness for office counted more heavily with the voters than did party affiliations.

*

Practical Civics for School Children.—A unique feature of a campaign conducted by the chamber of commerce of Mahanoy city, Pennsylvania, for creating a civic spirit, is a contest among the school children for suggestions of a popular, descriptive name for the city. Prizes for the best suggestions are offered. The chamber of commerce recently sent a questionnaire to high school pupils asking them what vocations they expected to pursue, whether they intended to remain permanently in Mahanoy city, and if not, why; what the chamber should do to assist them in preparation for their life work, and what it should undertake for the improvement of Mahanoy city. The ideas elicited fully justified the effort. Such work is effective as citizen training, and also arouses the civic interest of parents and of the public generally.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Franchises.—The United States supreme court, Mr. Justice Day, delivering the opinion, in *Columbus Railway Power and Light Co.* vs. *City of Columbus*[1] decided that under the laws of Ohio the ordinances of Columbus granting a street railway franchise for a fixed term which were accepted by the company became a binding contract, the obligations of which the company cannot escape from because of increasing operating expenses and labor costs. That operation was becoming unprofitable, was not convincing, especially in the absence of evidence that further operation under the contract was impossible or even that the completion of the entire term of the franchise would be unremunerative. Among other things the court said "equity does not relieve from hard bargains simply because they are such."

[1] 39 Sup. ct. Rep 349.

Billboard Ordinances.—The suits by the St. Louis Poster Advertising Co. against the city of St. Louis and others were filed, one in the state court and the other in the federal district court. The Missouri supreme court[2] gave an adverse judgment on the first and in the second the bill was dismissed. The ordinance complained against was passed on April 7, 1905. It permits no billboard of 25 feet square or more to be erected without a permit and none to extend more than 14 feet high above the ground. Moreover the ordinance requires 4 feet between the lower edge and the ground; forbids an approach of nearer than 6 feet to any building or to the side of the lot, or nearer than 2 feet to any other billboard, or more than 15 feet to the street line, and with qualifications requires conformity to the building line. No billboard

[2] 195 S. W. 717

is to exceed 400 square feet in area. The fee for a permit is $1 for every 5 lineal feet. The objection was that this ordinance was contrary to the fourteenth amendment in various respects. Mr. Justice Holmes delivered the opinion of the court, holding that the restrictions in the ordinance are not unreasonable nor unconstitutional limitations of the liberty of the individual or of private property and land; that billboards may properly be placed in a class by themselves, citing, *St. Louis Gunning Adv. Co.* v. *St. Louis*[1] that restrictions may be put on billboards even though danger from fire and wind may be eliminated by good construction; that the city may discourage billboards by a high tax and that the companies' contracts for advertising, although entered into before the passage of the ordinance, are subject thereto as against objections to its incidental effect upon them. The court said also "possibly one or two details, especially the requirement of conformity to the building line, have esthetic considerations in view more obviously than anything else. But as the main burdens imposed stand on other ground, we should not be prepared to deny the validity of relatively trifling requirements that did not look solely to the satisfaction of rudimentary wants that alone we recognize as necessary."[2]

✻

Service at Cost Plus—The Massachusetts supreme court in April gave a very important opinion[3] to the general court to the effect that senate bill 54 and house bill 722 were constitutional. Senate bill 54 abolished rates of fare on the Boston elevated system large enough to pay the cost of service, the balance to be made up out of general taxation and house bill 722 aimed to reduce fares on the company's lines by payment to it by the state of an amount equal to the rentals the company was paying for the use of subways. Chapter 159 of the special acts of 1918 by which the state took over the Boston elevated system for operation for ten years was also held constitutional as dealing with a matter of public interest, the means of public transportation. The court said "we are of the opinion that the public as a body has a concern in the continued operation of the Boston elevated railway, by the trustees, appointed by the governor, in a safe and practical manner adequate to the needs of those who travel. If the rational way to accomplish this result is an assumption by the public of a large part of the expense so that the burden of operation shall not fall alone upon the share-holders but also in part upon the cities and towns using the service in the way provided in the proposed bills, that is a public purpose. It was an inducement to stockholders to continue an otherwise losing and possibly confiscatory investment."

✻

Sunday Baseball.—The court of appeals of Maryland in *Levering* v. *Williams*[4] decided that a city ordinance forbiding baseball and other games on Sunday unless no admission fee was charged was void as being in contravention of the state law, prohibiting work of bodily labor on Sunday and that an order of the park commissioners following the passage of this ordinance permitting games to be played in the parks on Sunday from 2 to 7 p. m. was subject to a mandamus compelling the park commissioners to comply with the law.

✻

Mayoral Appointments.—In the case of *Waldron* v. *Rowe*[5] the New Jersey supreme court held that an act of 1907 providing that appointment of city officers and employes by the mayor shall expire with the mayor's term and their successors shall be appointed by the incoming mayor, vests the mayor with appointing power of undivided responsibility and his appointments need not be approved by the council under the acts of 1873 and 1881. The question was which of two men was the *de jure* city auditor of Newark and the court decided in favor of the incoming mayor's appointee and against the holdover incumbent.

✻

Tax Exemption.—The Maryland court of appeals recently held in *Broadbent* v. *Baltimore*[6] that the owner of a factory who has leased it to another for a stipulated rental and is not engaged in the manufacturing business is not entitled to a tax exemption on manufacturing machinery under the ordinance of 1912, authorizing the appeal tax court to abate the taxes on such equipment. The court felt that the ordinance was drafted to encourage manufacturing and that the appellant in the case had ceased to take the risk of the business when he accepted the rental from the lessee who had in turn accepted the risk.

ROBERT E. TRACY.

[1] 235 Mo.
[2] 39 Sup. Ct. Rep. 274.
[3] 122 N. E. 763.
[4] 106 Atlantic 176.
[5] 106 Atlantic 212.
[6] 106 Atlantic 250.